ALCOHOL INFORMATION COMMITTEE

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WHEN THE BREWER HAD THE STRANGLEHOLD

ERNEST GORDON

W E Jordan

902 Brooks Ave
State College Sta.,
Raleigh, N.C.

IF WHAT THIS BOOK SAYS IS TRUE, YOU OUGHT TO READ IT.

The publishers say they investigated every statment in the book and found it true. We are told that the organization that is successor to the Brewers' Association had each page carefully studied to find misstatements so they could sue the author, but found none. Therefore these remarkable things are TRUE AND OF VITAL MEANING TO EVERY CITIZEN OF AMERICIA, READ THEM. The book belongs to the one whose name and address is on the title page. He has loaned it to you directly or through a friend. He wants you not only to read it, but to put whatever remarks you wish in the margin or on the blank pages of the front or back. At least sign your name there and loan the book to some friend of yours. IF THE BOOK FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF ANY ONE WHO DOES NOT WISH TO PASS IT ON, PLEASE RETURN BY MAIL TO THE OWNER WHO HAS BEEN KIND ENOUGH TO BUY THE BOOK FOR YOUR GOOD. Remember that the opponents of temperance fear this book will finish their cause with anyone who reads it. HELP THIS

W. E. Jordan

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When the Brewer Had the Stranglehold

BY

ERNEST GORDON

Author of

"The Breakdown of the Gothenburg System," "The Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe," "Two Footnotes to the History of the Anti-Alcohol Movement," "Russian Prohibition," "The Maine Law," etc.

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ONE-FIFTY FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.
1930

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Printed in the United States of America

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WHILE THE COMMITTEE IS ORGANIZED FOR THE PROMOTION OF SUCH LITERATURE, THE WRITER ALONE ASSUMES FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY STATEMENT OF FACTS CONTAINED IN THIS BOOK.

ERNEST GORDON.

SEPTEMBER, 1930.

The following abbreviations have been adopted throughout this book:

1. T. P.—for "The Breweries and Texas Politics."
2. O. R.—for "The Overman Report" (U. S. Senate Judiciary Hearings, 65th Congress, 2nd Session, 1919. Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda. Senator Overman, Chairman). Major E. Lowry Humes was the attorney conducting this investigation for the government.

   Mr. Hugh F. Fox is the Secretary of the United States Brewers' Association.
3. L. I.—for "Lobby Investigation" (U. S. Senate Judiciary Hearings, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, 1930).

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CHAPTER I

THE ALIEN INDUSTRY

The brewing industry was, prior to 1840, so inconsiderable that the government made no record concerning it (1). Then came the German invasion with its corresponding development. This industry ever had an alien character. It was monopolized by Germans who have remained essentially German in their outlook and sympathies. Thus in the last war three of brewer Ehret's grandsons and the son-in-law of Adolphus Busch served in the German army (2). Ehret's daughter was the Baroness v. Zeidlitz (3). The president of the Burkhardt brewery in Boston was, till war came, Baron v. Scholley (4); Count Oscar Bopp v. Oberstadt was vice president of the Peter Schoenhofen brewery, Chicago (5). Adolphus Busch owned the magnificent Langenschwaalbach estate in Germany, visited at various times by the Kaiser, who also bestowed upon him the Order of the Red Eagle and the Order of Philip the Good (6).

What Right Has an American in America?

One constantly finds contemptuous allusions to the American people in German brewing publica-

tions. The Brewers' Journal, which was published in duplicate in German for those unable to read English, speaks of the native element as "degenerated Puritan dyspeptics" (7), rejoicing at "the decline of the old American stock. The last hope of the prohibitionists is disappearing for the good of the people of the United States" (8). It congratulates its readers that "the Anglo-Saxon element in this country is gradually receding before the enormous flood of European immigration and its prolific propagation of its kind. The few remnants of Puritanism are (facing) total extinction" (9). The *Westliche Post* is quoted as saying "we have long since given up the attempt to convert the Anglo-Americans. We must now awe them with our power" (10). In these circles there is much talk of "nativist encroachments on the rights of Germans." "We Germans in America are far too modest; we stand too much. We should show our teeth more" (11).

The German-American Alliance

The brewers went consciously to work to capitalize this anti-American sentiment and to make of the Germans in America a solid *bloc* for the defence of their nefarious business. Germans everywhere were to be listed for political purposes Pages 1342-1372 of the Overman Report are taken up with sample surveys of German population, in this case

in Southern Illinois. Over large masses of the quiet and law-abiding Germans they of course exerted little influence. Others were more amenable to their intrigues. "It is around these great brewery organizations owned by rich men, almost all of them of German birth," wrote Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, " . . . that have grown up all the societies (*Saengerfests* and *Saengerbunds*), all the organizations of this country intended to keep young German immigrants from becoming real American citizens" (12).

The German-American Alliance represented both the beer propaganda and this alien tendency. It was organized during the ambassadorship of Baron von Holleben, who planned to make the Alliance vote a perpetual weapon with which to intimidate any administration in Washington which should adopt an unfavorable German policy. Its charter, granted in 1907, described its alleged purposes—"conservation of the principles of representative government . . . the protection of German immigrants . . . the study of American institutions . . . the cultivation of the German language, etc." (13). The real objective was to block prohibition. "The National German Alliance leads the battle against Anglo-Saxonism," said one of their official bulletins. Mr. Ohlinger, who had studied their operations carefully, and who reported on them to a committee of Congress, quoted an

utterance which well illustrates their fixed idea "'*Deutschthum* and the preservation of *Deutschthum* depend on being wet. Where a state goes dry the German spirit dries up.' (Laughter)" (14).

The German Alliance was subsidized by the brewers who, however, traveled around Robin Hood's barn to make their payments. In other words, they established a separate fund covering up the source and purpose of their subscriptions. Senator Wolcott asked brewer Andreae: "You supplied simply the funds and they conducted the propaganda. . . . That was the situation, was it not?"

Andreae: "Yes" (15).

The brewers knew well enough that the federal criminal code forbids corporations to contribute money for political purposes (penalty, $1,000 fine, a year's imprisonment, or both). When the fact of these contributions became known Hexamer, the generalissimo of the German Alliance, wrote Andreae: "I was utterly dumbfounded when a few days ago, at Baltimore, I was told by a stranger that the National German-American Alliance was receiving large sums of money from the brewers. . . . This must be stopped at once, or else we might as well give up the fight" (16).

Strange Bedfellows

In order to fortify the German *bloc,* alliances were made with the Ancient Order of Hibernians

(January 29, 1907), and one reads of *Verbrüderungsfeste* in which *God Save Ireland* alternated with *Die Wacht am Rhein;* of German days at Irish bazaars; of joint German-Irish action against an arbitration treaty with England (17). There was much boasting of the coming German-Irish group in Congress of 170 members, symbol of the undying alliance between whiskey and beer (18). Attempts were also made to link up Jewish societies with the German. The Hon. Simon Wolf, a prominent Washington Jew, was secured as chairman of the German-American Alliance's congressional lobbying committee, a committee financed by the brewers (19). Hexamer, president of the Alliance, wrote to Andreae: "The enclosures . . . will show you that we are working in the right direction, and are getting the Hebrew Societies in the United States with us"; and again, "the Hebrew Societies are lining up with us" (20).

Degrading the Electorate

The German-American Alliance has worked hard to assure the continual inflow of illiterate and beer-consuming populations into the United States. The Burnett bill putting restrictions on immigration met their organized opposition (21). They importuned President Taft to veto it and, when it was passed over his veto, notified the 500 local branches to storm the House of Representatives

with telegrams against it. "The energetic action of the organized Germans," said their bulletin, "brought victory." "By action we were able to get the head-tax on immigrants reduced from three to two dollars." The naturalization of aliens in the United States in order to swell the wet vote was also a chief concern and we find the secretary of the United States Brewers' Association writing to German leaders urging this course. Attorneys engaged in mass naturalization, wrote Adolf Timm, Secretary of the German-American Alliance, "should be made to understand that they can make more money by fetching a bunch of 50 candidates before a judge, charging $1 each, and serving a good cause besides. . . . In Pennsylvania a law enacted by the last legislature which prohibits foreigners who have not become naturalized from keeping a dog, has also proved a great help. Practical work begun now will bring thousands of new citizens in line for the next Presidential election" (22). Efforts to weaken the regulations of naturalization papers were also made (23).

The extent of political pressure brought to bear on Congress from this quarter comes out in the following letter: "The National German-American Alliance has placed itself in communication on this subject with every German newspaper, every state branch and sub-branch of the Alliance, and every German society and club in the country, and that

from those sources alone the National Alliance estimates that at least four million protests will shortly reach the Congress in Washington. The same activity is in preparation in labor union and other circles" (24).

German Victories on American Soil

Yearly reports of the German-American Alliance spoke of defeats of local option laws and of victorious fights against the Hepburn-Dolliver bill in Congress, against the immigration restriction bill, against prohibition in Oklahoma and against the enforcement of the state Sunday law in St. Louis. They demanded the restoration of the beer canteen in the army and the retention of the beer canteen in the soldiers' homes. They crowed over the defeat of Governor Hanly in Indiana and insisted on the repeal of the excise law in Washington, D. C. The German Alliance was actively engaged in political work among Germans. "Hurrah for Texas!!! Ferguson (wet) elected! . . . Germans turned out solidly," writes Keller to Andreae (25). "The liberal cause in Ohio would have been lost had it not been for the close organization of the National German-American Alliance," says a multigraphed letter of the Alliance entitled, "A last word to German voters of Ohio," and a printed circular calls on Germans to fight for their liberty. "To be German means to be free. To be German means to fight."

Saergel wrote Keller: "With a proper educational campaign work, the influence of this foreign element can be made a mighty and powerful one in the state of Illinois. . . . Our organization has made an inroad . . . into the circles of German-American churches, whose ministers with very few exceptions now have taken up the call . . . to maintain and transplant the higher German ideals" (26). When Germans of quality refused to run the brewers' errands they were promptly called to book. Six such voted in the Ohio legislature against the repeal of the county option law. The Brewers' Journal, April 22, 1911, read the riot act to them: "Are these men only Germans in name? If not, are they utterly ignorant of the history of their ancestors, a race of idealists? . . . Their names, German though they sound, these men should change, so that they may no longer be a disgrace to the nation from which their fathers . . . originated" (27).

Wet Treason

"The ideal of the melting-pot is the very opposite of what we are working for," writes a certain Goebel, slurring again, "the slop-kitchen of a national melting-pot" (28). A wet politician in Texas planned wet colonies of Germans: "It is my aim to now see that antis, 'Germans,' are induced to buy land and wherever it is possible to sell out a pro(hibitionist) and replace with an anti" (29). The senti-

ments of many of these Germans were perilously near to treason. Thus the Alliance took action against a strong American fleet and advised limiting coast defense for five years (30), wherein they had the sympathy of Richard Bartholdt, the representative of Anheuser-Busch in Congress, who had secured the national charter for them. "I could have given the United States the second-best navy in the world if it had not been for the German brewery influence in Congress," William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, is reported to have said (31). The German-American Alliance sought to aid Germany in preventing the exportation of munitions. Professor Earl Sperry testified that they had even served as catspaws of the Imperial government to stir up bad feeling between the United States and Japan (32). Hexamer, the president of the Alliance, is quoted as saying in the office of the United States District Attorney at Erie, Pa.: "This form of government is a failure and the only correct form of government is a constitutional monarchy" (33).

"Many a German-American brewery," wrote John Price Jones in *The German Secret Service in America* (p. 70), "concealed in the shadows of its storehouses crates of arms and ammunition." The Boston brewers, Haffenreffer, Rueter, Roessle, and Burkhardt, were out in force at the famous secret dinner on the Kronprincessin Cecilie in Boston Harbor which by cable "pledged unwavering fidelity to

your Majesty." There were no American flags in sight and the German consul "thanked Heaven that we are at last on German soil" (34).

No wonder that the chauvinist German historian, Professor Lamprecht, should say, "The German Alliance is extraordinarily favorable to us." And no wonder that the Congress of the United States in contemptuous and scathing phrase revoked the charter which this beer organization had so shamefully misused for its anti-American ends.

A Chicago Tammany

The United Societies of Chicago was a federation of low-grade Germans and Austrians, a sort of German Tammany Hall in the Middle West metropolis. Professor Bramhall, of the University of Chicago, described them as "the most powerful defensive organization which has appeared in any city of the country," which is perhaps an exaggeration (35). Strong enough they were, however. They endorsed and worked with the old gray-wolf pack—Kenna, Grogan, Powers, Cullerton, and the rest—another union of German and Irish hearts. They were financed by the brewers, fought Sunday closing, sought extension of closing-time for the villainous beer dance-halls until almost dawn. At times they staged personal liberty parades, forcing bartenders, waiters, and waitresses in brewery-owned restaurants and the allied crowd of barrel-

makers, bottlers, label-makers, bar-fixture workmen, and teamsters to participate in their demonstrations. Teamster unions were declared to have fined their members ten dollars if they refused to walk in the streets in honor of Teutonic beer liberty (36). In short, they too were what the hostile critics of the German-American Alliance dubbed "Hexamericans."

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CHAPTER II

HOW IT RAISED ITS CORRUPTION FUNDS

The brewers' corruption funds were assembled on a scale without parallel in the past. As far back as 1908 a single brewer, Adolphus Busch, complained that "the prohibition agitation has cost me more than a million dollars already." And not only were these funds enormous in amount; they were also constant from year to year. How were they gathered?

The Court Memorandum U. S. vs. U. S. Brewers' Assn. *et al.* (p. 10) tells us that in the early spring of 1913 a meeting of all the brewing companies in the United States (there were between eight and nine hundred connected with the United States Brewers' Association) was called in Chicago. As a result of deliberations at this meeting it was agreed that contracts should be secured from the various brewing companies providing for payment into the treasury of the Association of a special assessment of three cents a barrel on the annual production of each brewery. These contracts were not to become effective until signatures were secured covering an aggregate barrelage of twenty-five million barrels, or $750,000. They were for a period of five years.

The twenty-five million minimum was greatly exceeded.

The results of this levy are approximately indicated on page 400 of the Overman Report. "In 1914 was deposited in the account of the United States Brewers' Association in the Commercial Trust Co. of New Jersey a total of $577,822.37; in the Northwestern National a total of $432,412.75, and in the Germania National Bank of New York a total of $394,250.12, making total deposits . . . of $1,404,485.24."

"That was election year," interjected Senator Overman, when the figures were read.

The total for the period from 1913 to 1918, inclusive, as far as the records show, was $4,457,941.22, and for part of that time the records were destroyed. An estimate of the income of the United States Brewers' Association in five years, given in "The Breweries and Texas Politics" (pp. 89-90), reaches six millions!

State Associations' Slush Funds

This was what the central organization raised. But the state brewers' associations also raised and expended enormous sums, in the aggregate even greater.

Major Humes: "Did they not frequently raise more money locally for political campaigns than the United States Brewers' Association contributed?"

Brewer Gardiner: "Yes; I think that was the case in most instances."

Major Humes: "Of course the aggregate amount raised by the brewers' associations in all the States would be very much larger than the aggregate amount raised by the United States Brewers' Association?"

Gardiner: "Oh, yes" (1).

The regular assessment of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association was two cents a barrel on the first 20,000 barrels, increasing up to five cents on production of 125,000 barrels or more. But the special assessments were often far greater.

"Do you not know of instances where they (the State associations) have collected as high as 20 cents a barrel for the State association?" asked Major Humes.

"I believe that that is true," replied Fox. "I think that is a matter of common knowledge" (2).

Colorado brewers are mentioned as having "in the last fight assessed themselves 50 to 60 cents (per barrel)" (3).

The Texas Brewers' Association alone, from 1902 to (June) 1907 raised, on a 20 cents levy per barrel, approximately $900,000. For 1908 and 1909 the amount was $400,000; for 1910, at thirty cents a barrel, $300,000; for 1911, $370,000. These sums "represent only what the State is able to prove, the indications and the presumption to be drawn

from the evidence being that the sums proved constitute but a part—probably a small part—of the grand totals spent." Besides this were large sums spent by the wholesale liquor dealers, the retailers and saloon-keepers (4).

The records of the Northwestern National Bank, Philadelphia, show that, in the years 1911-1915, $922,151.64 was deposited by the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association. The largest amount was $300,000 in the election year, 1914. As in the case of the United States Brewers' Association, practically all these deposits were withdrawn and spent each year—in the case of the United States Brewers' Association, only $25,000 being carried over from year to year (5).

The distillers also contributed to the general slush fund. "What was the relation that existed between the United States Brewers' Association and the National Liquor Dealers' Association?" asked Major Humes.

"A working arrangement," replied McDermott.

"The working arrangement," asked Major Humes, "was that the brewers were to put $2 into their political fight for every $1 that the National Liquor Dealers put in?" "That was my understanding," replied McDermott (6).

Covering Up Their Tracks

We have a good margin for exaggeration in the

fact that both brewers and distillers destroyed their financial records as well as many of their other minutes.

"It is certain that hundreds of thousands of dollars were annually spent (by the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association) of which we have no account," says the Government Index of the brewers' correspondence. The practice of the U. S. Brewers' Association was to destroy checkstubs and cancelled checks with each bank balance (7).

Major Humes asked Mr. Fox: "Have you any financial record showing the receipts and the expenditures of the United States Brewers' Association at any time during the time that you have been an officer of the association?"

"No, sir," replied Fox.

Humes: "Has there ever been such a record kept?"

Fox: "I do not believe there has been" (8).

And again Major Humes asked: "Do you not think it rather dangerous for officials with such faulty memories as yours . . . to depend entirely upon your memory for your activities? In other words, the work that you were carrying on was of such a nature that it was very desirable to forget promptly what had occurred the day before?"

Fox: "Oh, no. My work is of a hand-to-mouth character."

Humes: "Is the expenditure of a million dollars a year a hand-to-mouth work?" (9).

A similar dialogue spun out between the cross-examiner and the president of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association.

Major Humes: "At the end of each month, when the bankbook was balanced, the checks and the check stubs were destroyed?"

Gardiner: "That is right."

Humes: "Why was that practice adhered to?"

Gardiner: "I do not know. We always did it."

Humes: "Was it not an unusual business practice?"

Gardiner: "No; they had been doing it there for years."

Humes: "You do not do it in your own business, do you, Mr. Gardiner?"

Gardiner: "No."

Humes: "Why, when he (Mr. Schmidt) was responsible for a fund of approximately $300,000, would he follow that practice?"

Gardiner: "I could not tell you that."

Humes: "Why did not the Pennsylvania State Association keep any minutes? . . . Why was it necessary, as soon as the minutes were read, to destroy them?"

Gardiner: "I do not know, except that it was the custom we had adopted."

Humes: "Mr. Gardiner, was it not because the

activities of the association were entirely political in their nature, and it was better policy to preserve no record of the transactions? Is not that a fact?"

Gardiner: "Possibly" (10).

Systematized Extortion

Such was the brewers' first line of financial defense. But back of it were the allied trades organized in the states in Manufacturers' and Dealers' Leagues, in the nation in a National Association of Commerce and Labor. In addition to the allied trades (bottlers, hotel-keepers,* cigar-manufacturers, maltsters, cigar dealers, etc.), were the legitimate business men who were blackmailed into contributing to brewers' defense funds. How large the funds thus extracted from the public we shall probably never know, as these organizations have been largely liquidated. That they were considerable appears from the fact that 50,000 firms in the United States were alleged to have been lined up in this way. Brewer Andreae, who had charge of this national "hold-up," boasted at the start: "The success of this plan . . . has been very gratifying."

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* Brewer Andreae wrote to brewer Schmidt: "Quite an influential section of the members of the National Hotel Men's Association, including the officers of the Association, are anxious to join the National Association of Commerce and Labor and put the stamp scheme into operation" (presumably at the expense of those selling to them). "I have agreed to have each state association visited either by myself or substitute" (11).

In the first four or five months in Chicago, and outside, some $70,000 were secured. The president of the U. S. Brewers' Association declared it "ideal and believed it could be extended all over the United States" (12). Later he reported an income of $136,194 in twenty months from the sale of stamps alone. Major Humes tells us that the effort to bring together all the business interests that deal with or sell to brewers has been a very successful one (13).

The New York Criminal Code defines extortion as "the obtaining of the property of another without his consent by the wrongful use of force or fear." The method used by brewers' associations and retail liquor-dealers' associations was to sell stamps to members. When the latter paid bills they substituted a stamp for one per cent of the account. Thus a brewer or saloon-keeper buying $100 worth of goods from a department store sent a check for $99 and placed a $1.00 stamp on the bill. If the merchant was unwilling to stand for this, the liquor men went elsewhere for their purchases (14). Merchants who wished to protect their trade felt obliged to join the Manufacturers' and Dealers' Leagues of their several states. What happened if they did not is obvious from the following letter.

"Dear Sir:

We are advised by the Manufacturers and Deal-

ers' League that you are not members of their Association. We have therefore notified our Purchasing Department not to place further orders with you.

Very truly yours,
A. Hupfel's Sons" (15).

Another letter, this time from the American Brewing Company, of Houston, Texas, will illustrate these operations. As we have explained, the National Association of Commerce and Labor was the national organization, the Manufacturers' and Dealers' Leagues being the corresponding state organizations.

"Gentlemen:

In view of the fact that there are over fifty thousand firms supplying the brewery trade, it is manifestly impossible to state with any degree of accuracy which of these firms belong, through subsidiary organizations, to the National Association of Commerce and Labor and have agreed to the assessment of that association. It lies, therefore, largely with the brewer who has been asked by the association to assist in collecting this assessment to ascertain this from those who supply him.

We may state for your guidance that many brewing firms have simply deducted the one per cent from all invoices and accompanied their remittances with

the enclosed letter of explanation. Since the result in this case has been that only in one or two isolated instances was there any objection raised to the deduction, the inference is permissible that the discount plan has been very generally accepted.
(Signed)
National Assn. of Commerce and Labor" (16).

(The enclosed letter explains the one per cent involuntary assessments and closes with: "In case you are neither a member of the local Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, nor interested in contributing to its funds, we shall, upon receipt of advice from you to this effect, remit to you the amount of discount deducted, with due apologies for our error.")

One constantly runs across instances of the brewers' one per cent tribute. In the Texas state campaign of 1911 they took $500 off the York Manufacturing Company, of York, Pa., and $500 from the Southwestern Engineering and Supply Company. They hope "to secure the six figures" from the Cincinnati interest (17).

One firm is recalcitrant. Bush writes: "These remarks would also apply to the Whitlock Pipe Company in case where they refuse to accept stamps, we will see them as soon as it is possible to do so" (18).

Haffenreffer, of the Old Colony Breweries, Boston, wrote Mr. Fox that ex-Governor Foss had publicly attacked him for this practice: "I would not be surprised to be summoned before the grand jury on account of affixing these stamps and deducting these amounts from the bills" (19). In order to reassure his colleagues Fox recommended that the brewers should not attach the stamps, but leave them loose to be affixed by the victimized merchants and manufacturers. Proper schedules were to be prepared showing the amount agreed on with the various classes of merchants and manufacturers in regard to their materials and these schedules were to be sent to all the brewers in the United States. The Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association of Chicago also mentions a loose-leaf classified business directory of the full membership, to be furnished with a handsome leather binder for the special use of purchasing agents of brewers, liquor dealers, and the allied trades. On page 941 of the Overman Report mention is made of "a complete list of all those selling goods to the brewing industry."

"On This Basis We Assess You!"

Sometimes the brewers exacted tribute on their own account and apart altogether from the central machine. The Buffalo brewers are said to have had their independent organization which wrung

$8,000 annually from honest business by the stamp method (20). We append a typical letter from Texas.

"Houston, Texas, June 23, 1908.

"Dear Sirs:

We have a state-wide prohibition fight on our hands and it is fast and furious. . . .

We need money and are appealing to all merchants, manufacturers, persons and corporations from whom each of the breweries in Texas bought goods in the year 1907, to give us 1 per cent of the amount of the bill bought and paid for.

On This Basis We Assess You the Sum of $. . . . . .

Kindly send us your check at once, making it payable to the writer individually. This donation from you will be bread cast upon the waters.

Yours very truly,
Texas Brewers' Association" (21).

The letter acknowledging payment says that this corporation shows "us the large number of friends and adherents we have in Texas and *all the other states.*" This "hold-up" was even international. When a firm in Prague did not pay the amount assessed it was asked: "We would very much appreciate the courtesy of a reply informing us why our request has met with no attention, stating specifically why you have so tacitly refused to contribute

towards the funds of our campaign. Texas Brewers' Association" (22).

Other Activities of These Leagues

The machine used to press money from legitimate industry was active in propaganda also. The Brewers' Journal for November 1, 1912, summarizes the annual report of the Manufacturers' and Dealers' League of New York State: "The annual message of the president mentions good work during the various local option election campaigns in the State of New York. Considerable sums of money have been expended in Colorado and New Hampshire." The Manufacturers' and Dealers' League in Chicago sends out a form letter to the women's clubs of the city proposing the establishment of municipal theaters (presumably with bar for beer-selling). It seeks to win the confidence of the church people by offering to furnish material for comforts, etc., for the poor, provided the ladies of the churches would do the work of preparing them for distribution. It describes its vast circulation of literature in the Loop office district, in factories and large plants, dwelling-apartments and automobiles standing in the Loop. "Seven hundred thousand pieces—tons of good argument!" A circular it sends out calls for "live-wires" to serve on the following committees: Booster, Publicity, Entertainment, Reception, Political Action, Speakers,

Vigilance, Finance, Legal, Membership, Civic, Industrial, Trade Extension, Press, Foreign Business, Congressional. The president tells his reluctant membership that "it is the duty of every member to devote a small portion of his time for the good of the association. Tell us the committee you will serve on. Don't delay." Another circular explains the advantages of membership. "We are one thousand one-hundred point salesmen ready and willing at all times to help you sell your goods. We give you business and legal advice free. We have absolutely the best organized foreign business department in Chicago. We are able to give you all information in regard to selling of goods, way to ship, how to collect. We can get up circular letters and printing matter of any description in any language. We advertise your business in our official magazine, Current Thought, at no cost to you. This association is member of the Chamber of Commerce of Washington, D. C., which gives you, as a member of this association, the privilege of getting any direct information you desire in regard to politics or business. *We issue a classified directory that goes into the hands of buyers who prefer* to buy from members" (23).

Levying on Real Estate Owners

In San Francisco these "allied interests" even assessed owners of property rented to saloons, cafes,

and restaurants. In 1916 a letter went out, of which the concluding sentences ran as follows:

"Do you realize that in November, 1916, your property is to be voted out of tenancy? Your financial co-operation may save the situation. Look at conditions in Washington and Oregon today and you will fully realize the truth of these statements. Funds subscribed by landlords, saloons, restaurants, cafes, and hotels are applied toward a campaign covering the whole city of San Francisco.

"The Finance Committee feel assured that landlords and property-owners realize it is a matter of good business judgment to subscribe one month's rental for each place of business toward the campaign funds. Enclosure, Registry-Subscription Blank No..... for your attention" (24).

Lastly, the brewers forced the United States Government itself to help finance their political operations. This they did by making fraudulent tax returns. Mr. Humes says of this: "The government had information that brewery corporations for many years past had been making illegal money contributions in connection with national elections and in order to cover up their crime had been deducting from their tax returns sums equivalent to the amounts thus criminally expended in connection with elections, thereby adding crime to crime and cheating the government out of a large amount of revenue." Then he adds: "If the Brewers' Association

or any other association can defraud the government of taxes and by the same act violate the election laws and not be liable to an accounting to this government, surely, then, this government is helpless" (25).

Yet the striped suits were never fitted to the corpulent forms that so richly deserved them.

How was it that in the face of all the evidence the brewers could escape with a nominal fine? Is not this a good measure of their former power in the nation's life?*

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*In 1911 it was discovered that brewers in Hamilton County, Ohio (Cincinnati), were cheating on their taxes. They testified under oath as to the method. A brewer would start a saloon, run it for weeks before going to the county auditor and listing the place for the Aikin tax. Or he would work it the other way and report that a certain saloon he had opened had quit the business, so receiving a refund of the tax money he had already paid. Then he would continue running the saloon without paying the tax. But while thus cheating city, county, and state they were compelling the saloon-keeper to pay $20 a week tax-money which they pocketed.

A deputy auditor was sent to the penitentiary for a term of years for conniving with the brewers. I have no record that the brewers were similarly punished. American Issue (Ohio ed.), August 12, 1911.

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CHAPTER III

HOW IT ORGANIZED ITS FOLLOWING

The initial meeting of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, called at Chicago, was attended by representatives of all the state Manufacturers' and Dealers' Leagues; also by representatives of such important allied firms as the Golden Gate Manufacturing Company, the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company, the Bishop-Babcock-Becker Company, the American Hominy Company, the American Bottle Company, the Cumberland Glass Company, the Taber Pump Company, the Economic Machinery Company, the Barry-Wehmiller Machinery Company, and so on (1). The name "National Association of Commerce and Labor" was adopted because "it sounds something like a United States government department." "If it has a little taste of governmental authority," remarked brewer Andreae to his co-founders, "why so much the better" (2). Every effort was made to disguise the real entity behind the high-sounding name. "I made it an absolute condition that I must be allowed to carry on this work under a flag that was not directly or indirectly connected with a brewers' organization," explained Andreae, and then

boasted how this pseudonymity enabled him to get before chambers of commerce and other gatherings of business men (3).

Krieg-Mobil!

In the previous chapter we have seen this organization imposing on honest business in order to finance brewery politics. But it was also designed as a central agency for the organization of the wet vote of the country. "All lines have now been laid," explains Andreae, who was set to this work by the United States Brewers' Association at a salary of $40,000 a year, "for the organizing of certain large aggregations of men, which I need not name, under the direction of one central head. . . . It was manifestly inexpedient for me even to hint at the nature of these plans in the presence of a large body of men such as met in New York last week" (4).

The saloon-keepers were to be mobilized throughout the nation. "There are 250,000 retailers in this country. Organizations of retailers exist in practically every state and locality. The plans are laid to invite all these associations into the general fold, without in the slightest degree affecting their separate identity. . . . They should be strengthened and their leaders brought into the most intimate touch with us. . . . When you consider that at a very conservative estimate every saloon-keeper in the country has ten friends among the voters . . .

you can easily calculate what an army of friends we have in this body of men alone" (5).

The saloon-keepers' wives were not overlooked. "Women's Liberty Leagues have already been started in some of the larger cities, and the plan is to ask . . . (for) the furtherance of sane and sober principles of legislation. . . . I have the strongest belief in the efficiency of our women" (6).

The general organization had been perfected in Ohio and Andreae could say: "The allied industries in that state have, in the past five years, spent nearly a million dollars in building up and perfecting this organization . . . they do not regret one penny of the vast sum thus expended" (7). Then he draws this picture of the well-oiled, smoothly-running machine: "I can go to the telephone here, call up our headquarters at Cincinnati, and say: 'Call a stenographer to the phone,' and I dictate to him a statement. I say: 'I want that statement to be in the hands of the members of the Personal Liberty League of Ohio within twenty-four hours.' In twenty-four hours that statement will be in the hands of 150,000 people, voters in the State of Ohio, and among those 150,000 are several thousand who are good for a large number of votes besides their own. We have the address of every member and the necessary number of envelopes . . . three sets of envelopes of 150,000 each, stamped and addressed ready to go out" (8).

CHOWAN COLLEGE LIBRARY

The immediate purpose of the organizational activities of the National Association of Commerce and Labor seems to have been to fortify thirteen out of the forty-eight states of the Union in such a way as to prevent the ratification of a national prohibition amendment (9). Elaborate surveys of the population of selected states were instituted. On pages 1256-68 of the Overman Report samples are given of hundreds of county surveys. The first one printed asks 106 questions relating to population, wet and dry vote, number of saloons, number of towns and cities, number of commissioners' districts, justices of the peace, school districts, feeling regarding prohibition, dominant religion, per cent of church members, members of Elks, Eagles, Owls, Moose, Turnvereins, names of officers of such organizations and their political activities, members of Saengervereins, of Sons of Herrmann, data regarding foreign population apart from German, names and addresses of the most prominent Germans, officers of trades unions, of farmer organizations, industries, names of active Democratic politicians and attitude on the drink question, names of chairman and secretary of the Democratic committee, same questions regarding members and organization of the Republican committee, total vote cast for governor, names of newspapers and attitude on the drink question, names of foreign newspapers, circulation and publisher, representa-

tives in state legislature and detail of political fights, data regarding chambers of commerce, railroad improvements or extensions being urged or under construction in this county, number qualifying to vote by payment of poll tax, etc., etc.

Incredible as it may seem the plan was to list every man of importance in every community in every state in order to bring influence to bear upon him in behalf of the cause of beer. Masses of such censuses were on file. In the Eighty-second Texas legislative district, for instance, the following data were given:

Name, address, married or single, if married does wife exercise any undue influence in regard to business or political affairs, politics, popular or not, schooling, business, financial standing, his bank, attitude of his bank on wet or dry question, liberal or dry, vote received, religion (active or inactive), what fraternal order, recreation (hunting, fishing, golf, etc.), names of closest associates (10).

Gibson, reporting to Autrey on the progress of their survey in Texas, said: "We will have in our office (by February 6) reports from one hundred and twenty-two Counties, covering 69% of the population of your State. The next assignment of counties for final investigation, making a total of two hundred and forty-nine Counties in the State. . . . We are fully expecting to be able to cover the second assignment by the first of March" (11).

Utmost secrecy was preserved in order to keep information concerning the surveys from coming to the public ear. Occasionally something would leak out: "The enclosed will show you that the press in Maine has obtained knowledge of the investigation now proceeding in that state. The chief reason why I always kept the knowledge of our men being in a state confined to the fewest people possible was because of the danger of such publicity as this. Fortunately, our men have nearly completed their work, but they have had to go back into the State under another guise" (12).

Using the Surveys Politically

"After this survey," says the Government Index to the brewers' subpœnaed correspondence (p. 19), "primary candidates were selected in each district and all pressure possible brought to bear for their nomination. After primaries, results were studied and secret investigations made of candidates to be sure of their stand on the liquor question. Then a list regardless of party was selected and furnished to leaders whose duty it was to get these lists into the hands of the bodies of voters that could be depended on. Particular attention was given to getting the solid vote of certain groups, e. g., labor unions and foreign elements. This was followed by the usual work on election day."

The operations of these secret investigators seem

to have brought political results. The Iowa Brewers' Association stated that "after the organization directed by Mr. Percy Andreae had undertaken to survey the state and develop on the basis of such a survey, an educational campaign throughout the state, a most surprising change in conditions took place, resulting in . . . substantial gains in the number of liberal representatives in the legislature" (13).

As far back as 1908 the organization bureau of the U. S. Brewers' Association was able to report: "Thirty-six of the forty-six states of the Union have been visited by representatives of our bureau . . . Manufacturers and dealers clubs of the allied industries are in working order in 19 states. . . . This committee will take up active work for the legislature and also in looking after nominations for Congress" (14).

"Was not a survey made of the whole nation with a view to determining the congressional districts that you could carry?" asked Major Humes. "Probably," returned McDermott, the organizer of the U. S. Brewers' Association.

Under Cover Methods

The Government Index of the brewers' correspondence (p. 8), says of the disguises used:

"A peculiarity which has become very apparent in the study of this case is the tendency to cover up the

sources of operations by designating certain work which is to be performed to a certain committee; or to have some certain members or officers organize entirely independent bodies of men whose connection can hardly be traced to the U. S. Brewers' Association. This indirect method of operation was carried on so extensively and insidiously that thousands of persons co-operating in them had no knowledge of the source of the movements. As illustrating the extent of this, it is safe to state that it reached labor bodies, newspapers, personal-liberty leagues, commercial bodies, foreign organizations, manufacturers' leagues, protective leagues, lodges, motion-picture censors, in certain instances ministers and churches. The names of these bodies are even disguised and the organizers, who are secret agents of either the U. S. Brewers' Association, or some of its subsidiaries, never identify themselves with the liquor interests openly and are received in their work as the representatives of some highly patriotic or moral movement."

Constant allusions are to be found in this correspondence to subsidiary organizations which, to the outsider, were represented to be neutral. "Traveling Men's Liberty Leagues and Personal Liberty Leagues have been organized and are in working order in Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Louisiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, and New York." That in Minnesota "has done very efficient work in the cam-

paign for members of the legislature" (15). "We organized a large Manufacturers and Business Men's Association (in Louisville in 1908). . . . At a large mass meeting . . . we furnished the speakers, consisting of ex-Governor Peck . . . and Clarence Darrow. . . . The St. Louis Manufacturers and Merchants' Association, composed of 300 of the leading business firms of that city . . . has been of immense value to the trade in Missouri and in the local option elections held throughout the state" (16).

Behind such masks as the Ohio Temperance Union, the Ohio Home Rule Association, the Constitutional Stability League, the Citizens' Forward Movement, the National Reform League stood the brewers. The Ohio Temperance Union specialized in the distribution of "temperance literature" at county fairs. It, too, was a brewers' mask.

Many of the minor fraternal orders had wet affiliations or were first organized with wet ends in view. Thus the Moose lodges in the west are said often to have been initiated as wet clubs in towns voting dry. The Knights of the Royal Arch, who were at one time so powerful politically in California, and with whom Abe Ruef played an important rôle, were closely related to the drink interest. The Elks, originally an actors' burial society, passed through a phase in their development which won for the order B. P. O. E., the derisive name of the

Beeriest People on Earth. The Eagles had "Big Tim" Sullivan as leader for many years and a following appropriate to the leadership. The "aeries" were in early days apt to be blind pigs in dry towns. For example, Vandergrift in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, was founded by a steel company employing 4,000 men which put the town dry by property contracts. Immediately Eagles, Moose, Elks, Owls, and others of the fraternal menagerie started drinking clubs. The steel company thereupon issued a statement to its employees saying that they must either present dismissal cards from these orders or receive their dismissal from the steel works. Whereupon much outcry from labor mis-leaders on capital's oppressions (17).

With their other surveys the brewers did not neglect to survey in detail their opponents. A life-history and complete record of all engaged in any phase of the movement against alcohol was kept in the brewers' archives. Also of those in public life who might at any time-to-come cross their interests. The material was of course gathered by detectives and its purpose was "to hold" and discredit opponents. Thus when ex-Governor Foss of Massachusetts came out for national prohibition a big anti-prohibition labor meeting was planned for Faneuil Hall in which Mr. Foss's career was to be denounced. The record secured by a confidential agent fills two pages of fine print and is a marvel

of industrious research. Everything allegedly hostile to labor in Mr. Foss's record was collected and displayed, his vetoes, his political shiftings. Of course the record was in unrelieved black (18).

Hundreds of such documents were accumulated, but one other only is given in the Overman Report. This had to do with a prohibition speaker, the Rev. Sam Small. Howard Noble, of Boston, writes Mr. Fox: "Some weeks ago you wrote me requesting particulars regarding the alleged arrest of Sam Small, the evangelist, in 1889 in this city for appropriating money collected in behalf of Utah University." Mr. Noble narrates how he hired a newspaper man with long court experience to look up the matter. Examination made of the court records for 1888-'90 "failed to disclose where Sam Small or any individual whose name resembles his was brought into court on any charge. Examination of the records of the sheriff of Suffolk County resulted similarly. Deputy Sheriff Kelly, however, says he recalls that Sam Small, the evangelist, was arrested back in the nineties by the Boston police for speaking on Boston Common without a permit in defiance of police order. Kelly has been in the Pemberton Square courthouse for more than thirty years, and fails to remember where Small was ever taken in custody on any other charge.

"Examination of the records of the Boston police department by Inspector Silas Waite, who was de-

tailed by Captain Armstrong, of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation to aid me, showed that a Sam Small was arrested in 1889 on a pickpocket charge. We dug up the photograph of Sam Small, pickpocket, in the records and are satisfied that he was not the evangelist.

"If your informant, Dr. John Wesley Hill, is correct in his facts, I am inclined to think that for some reason no record of it was made" (19).

Can anyone conceive of the Boston police and detective force lending aid to run down the record of a wet speaker or politician?

Blackening Honest Folk

It is easy to illustrate the way in which this stored information was used from examples that have come to the surface elsewhere. John Anderson, of Alexandria, was a member of the Minnesota legislature, "an excellent legislator with the deepest convictions and most patriotic purposes." He was not in favor with the brewery politicians. They learned that in his earlier life he had had strong alcoholic weaknesses. "They always possess each man's history from childhood up," explains Mr. Lynn Haines, who tells the story in "The Minnesota Legislature of 1911" (p. 35): "They seduced him to drink again. For a week he drank, drank, drank, and soon after adjournment died."

The classic snares of course were those which

involved hired women. A Nebraska Anti-Saloon worker tells me that a standing offer of $500 was made by the liquor dealers of the state to any one who could entrap him in this way. It is not desirable to multiply unsavory illustrations. A saloon keeper of Springfield, Ill., attempted to "get" Lieutenant Governor O'Hara with the aid of a designing woman, who made affidavit that she had registered as his wife in a Chicago hotel. A special senatorial commission investigating the matter proved her a fraud and exonerated the Lieutenant Governor. It seems that there was an investigation of the white-slave traffic and it was hoped to intimidate Mr. O'Hara into protecting the liquor traffic in the inquiry (20).

Will Irwin mentioned in Colliers' (March 13, 1909), an alleged church paper, really liquor-controlled, which bore the name of "Truth." It published a list of all clergymen in Michigan who had in one or another way gone wrong. This Elmer Gantry information was clipped and sent to other papers.

"We have also been making a thorough study of the tactics of our opponents and in various ways . . . have undermined the confidence which contributors and churches have had in them," says a confidential report of the U. S. Brewers' Association (21). The Government Index of the correspondence confirms this: "Several persons are con-

stantly in the employ of the Association whose duty it is to cause discord in the ranks of the opposition. Thus at the time of the meeting of the Catholic Temperance Union at Niagara Falls a representative of the Brewers' Association succeeded in becoming secretary, stealing all the publicity material and sending an untruthful report of the meeting to the newspapers" (22).

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CHAPTER IV

HOW IT MANIPULATED LABOR

The brewer has in the past been no real friend to American labor.

Down to 1880 fourteen hours a day was the normal thing in the breweries of the United States, in addition to six or eight hours on Sunday (1). Free beer in abundance kept the men going and made drunkards of them. Incredible as it may seem, these poorly-paid workers were also subject to whippings as if they were still German serfs bound to the land. The Peter Doelger brewery in New York, we are told by the historian of brewerdom (2), had an especially notorious reputation for this. When these workers unionized they were bitterly fought by the beer capitalists, who combined to manufacture a "pool beer" (or strike-breaking beer) for use in time of strikes. This pool beer was boycotted for thirteen years by labor in general. The Knights of Labor took up the boycott against Anheuser-Busch beer, and it may be that their quick collapse and their supersession by the American Federation of Labor (which was indeed very lukewarm in this struggle against the brewer) resulted in part from this fact—also from Mr. Powderly's well-remembered denunciations of the saloon, whose keepers

and bartenders were at first debarred from membership in the Knights (3). Certainly the brewers have had good reason to prefer Samuel Gompers, who, in 1882, for the first time was elected President of the American Federation of Labor. It is stated that bribing of influential delegates in the Central Labor Union of New York was resorted to in order to get the boycott on pool beer removed. This incident led to the disruption of the Central Labor Union and the organization of the Central Labor Federation (4).

Later, however, the brewers even forced their men into unions as the only way of securing the patronage of those who were refusing non-union beer. This policy was confirmed as the political contest sharpened. Unions of brewery workmen became a valued political agency in lining up union labor generally for wet operations.

With the women, however, the brewers were merciless to the end, for the women had no vote. In 1910 "Mother Jones" came to Milwaukee to look into the way the big breweries were treating their women labor. She found the girls in the bottling works toiling long hours for 75 to 85 cents a day (the average wage was three dollars a week!), lifting heavy bottle crates, their shoes and clothing wet with beer slop and their bodies wracked with rheumatism. They were forced to breathe the fumes of stale beer for long hours and were sub-

jected to insult from brewery foremen. One favorite beer jest was to measure the girth of prospective mothers daily. The girls were not allowed to organize in unions and were threatened with discharge if they attended Mother Jones' meetings.

When these investigations were published detectives in brewery employ intimidated the Northwestern Printing Company, forcing it to turn over to them all the incriminating pamphlets. Complaint was made to the Milwaukee postmaster by Mr. Vorsaatz, who had charge of their distribution. The only answer vouchsafed was that the pamphlet was "obscene." A delegation from the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago visited Milwaukee and verified the statements made, affirming that the root cause of the excessively low wages was the brewers' determination to prevent the girls from unionizing (5).

When Labor Leaders Told the Truth

All this and much more the labor mis-leaders have, no doubt, known well enough and long enough. "The political influence of the liquor power in New York . . . was thrown against me in solid mass when I ran for mayor in 1886," wrote Henry George. "It is high time these brewers were brought to their senses. . . . This enormous liquor influence—organized, disciplined . . . is one of the great agencies which have made democratic gov-

ernment in the true sense of the term as non-existent in New York as in Constantinople" (6). Even Gompers said in 1890: "None better know than the so-called leaders in the movement for labor reform the curse of liquor and the hindrance it is to the better education and activity in that field" (7).

Verily, They Have Their Reward

This did not, however, prevent Mr. Gompers from being an almost official spokesman for the brewers. We get glimpses, in the brewers' correspondence, of their sending him to speak for them in Indiana and elsewhere (8). With honorable exceptions, labor officials have too often followed Gompers' lead. Thus in 1912 the Michigan Federation of Labor adopted resolutions repudiating John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, because of his support of prohibition and protested his re-election to office in the National Federation of Labor (9). Why this was done is suggested by statements in the Detroit Labor News, February 23, 1917, to the effect that the Home Rule League (a liquor organization), after the Michigan prohibition fight of that year, affirmed in its filed statement of campaign expenses that it had paid the president of the Michigan Federation of Labor $9,001.25 between July 19 and November 6 in twelve payments. This for canvassing votes! Other leading officials of the Michigan State Labor Federation

were compensated for political services. Mr. Neil Bonner, of the National Liquor Dealers' Association, speaking of the co-operation of labor with the liquor interests, said: "We have recently in the States of Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts been supplied with abundant evidence of the value of an organized movement—particularly within organized labor. I have no doubt but that in a short time our efforts will be successful in proving the value of our people dispensing their finances" (*i. e.,* expending money in attaching labor to liquor) (10).

The Labor Press and the Brewers

Here, for example, is a circular of the Massachusetts Liquor League stating that "the state branch of the American Federation of Labor is considering a publicity campaign in our defense against prohibition and that our side of the liquor question will be exploited in the widest possible manner in the near future" (May 17, 1915). A brewers' agent at work lining up labor writes (11): "The labor press of the country at its recent convention in St. Louis passed very strong resolutions (against prohibition) and the delegates present agreed with the editor of the Brewery Workers' Journal to carry on an educational campaign in their papers against the prohibition movement, the material for such campaign to be issued to the labor press generally by the

Journal of the Brewery Workers. I have been asked and have agreed to supply the necessary articles either weekly or bi-weekly, and arrangements to this end have already been perfected." "I have every labor journal in the State . . . carrying in each issue advertisements and other articles written or inspired by this office," writes Paget, a brewer's agent (12). "I can perfect arrangements to have the labor organizations of the State take up the fight for us. . . . They did last year" (13). And another, quoted in Major Humes' Memorandum, wrote: "I went over the state with a view of meeting the most influential labor men. I am sure that we can muster to our support all of the prominent labor men in the state, with one or two exceptions, and they believe they can deliver the union labor vote."

They even had joint lobbyists in the legislatures. The San Antonio Brewing Company wrote to brewer Adoue concerning Linthicum, a lobbyist at Austin: "My instructions to him are never to mention breweries; he is at Austin to represent *Labor exclusively*" (14).

Certainly there has been an *entente cordiale* between the representatives of beer and brawn, and brawn, as usual, has suffered for it.

Labor and Wet Politics

The U. S. Brewers' Association had a special bureau for attending to labor leaders and their fol-

lowing. The manager of this bureau, Mr. George Thompson, prepared resolutions for union labor meetings which the labor bell-wethers accepted and the labor sheep voted. We see him now in Florida "swinging the entire union labor vote of the state toward the liberal (*i. e.*, beer) side" . . . In Idaho he "succeeded in interesting the union labor leaders all over the state" (15). In Indiana he arranged "to have Mr. Gompers make a special trip through that state (and) secured the support of all of the officers of the State Federation of Labor" (16). "The manager of our bureau, Mr. McDermott, has had several conferences with Mr. Gompers and other officers of the American Federation of Labor and, *while they do not want this matter to come up in a national way, they are all willing to help us*" (17). In other words, theirs was an under-cover method. In Texas one writes: "I showed him a copy of a letter sent out by Sam. Gompers advocating (wet Congressman) Henry's support by the labor people" (18). And again, "The article I sent you (against prohibition) has been signed by Mr. William Good, a labor man of state-wide prominence, and it will be published in every labor paper in the state" (19). When the brewers were electing Ferguson governor of Texas a circular letter was sent to the labor unions ordering them to vote for Ferguson and against submission of prohibition (20). Wirmel, a brewer's agent, mentions the "steering-committee" which vis-

ited all the labor unions of the state and adds "any labor man who does not report at the polls on election day will be fined ten dollars" (21).

The labor leaders had no policy of their own on this important question. They followed the brewer in his devious activities. Thus we find the Maryland Federation of Labor opposing local option; in New Hampshire, where state prohibition was in prospect, they co-operate with the brewers for local option, since that would save a part of the state at least for beer. In Massachusetts we find them fighting so slightly a restrictive measure as the "bar and bottle bill." In Texas they lend themselves to the brewers' fight against the poll-tax law which would have prevented the large purchase of Negro and Mexican votes. In the Pennsylvania mining regions they assist the brewer in a campaign for the naturalization of literally hundreds of thousands of ignorant aliens. Offices were opened for this work by the brewers, but were given the appearance of labor offices and active labor leaders were induced to allow the use of their names on the doors of these offices to make them (the Poles and Hungarians) think that labor was helping them (22).

Rushing the Political Growler

"Fall River and Worcester, Mass., were reclaimed from the 'dries' last year," writes one brewer report, "by the organization of the labor

vote," by their labor committees (23). In similar no-license contests in Rhode Island they say, "We have gotten the various labor organizations in that state (Rhode Island) to pass resolutions favoring the license question." "Keep identity of workers secret" (24). In Iowa "labor organizations were seen and operated on." In Tennessee, "Mr. Thompson has been there . . . and the Union Labor vote was lined up solidly in the large cities." Again, "We have an able corps of experienced labor men going down with the delegation to El Paso." And "We have had labor men go throughout the state and address their own labor organizations. Men of their own kind seem to appeal to them more than outsiders" (25).

Yet it was the outsiders who were really driving the sheep though the latter think only of their own labor bell-wethers. It was the outsiders, too, who sheared them. In a letter of March 19, 1913, marked "confidential," Mr. Fox urges the brewers to stand together against their employees when making contracts for wages. "If the local agent of an outside brewer takes the initiative by making an independent contract he can easily jeopardize the whole negotiation between the local brewers and the unions and thus enable the latter to execute a flank movement" (26). The Bay State Bricklayer (Cambridge, Mass.) describes the good old days of the beer saloon in that city. "It was

common experience for saloon-keepers to be present at the office on pay day and take from the men in payment for old scores all the money they received" (27). The labor men in Denver for years planned to have their own Labor Temple, but were opposed by the beer sellers. One hundred and eight unions met in twenty-eight places—saloons or in proximity to saloons. When prohibition came to Colorado, labor directly put up a $125,000 building.

Hurrying to the Defense of Beer

At times one could almost believe that the defense of beer was a chief objective of the American Federation of Labor. Thus at the hearings before the sub-committee of the judiciary of the United States Senate, April, 1926, officials of the Federation appeared in a joint legislative committee with three organizations instituted solely to break down the prohibition system. They were led into action by Mr. Julian Codman, of the Massachusetts North Shore. The evidence given by these labor leaders was often silly and unintelligent and showed how far the official labor agitator is ready to go in betraying the interests of the plain people of the country for the sake of the beer capitalists. President Green was represented by Mr. Roberts, who summarized the action taken by the Federation. In national convention in 1923 it had asked for modification of existing laws (so as) "to permit the

manufacture and sale of a national beverage of wholesome beer" (28). Green wrote to President Coolidge, December 12, 1925, urging the President to give "earnest consideration" to this appeal. The letters of Gompers to President Wilson were also put on record. He wrote that "the direct injury which this proposed prohibition amendment would inflict on the workers" caused him "great mental and conscious disturbance." It was a "great fear of my heart for the future of our beloved country" which led this handy-man of the brewers to write: "The people were caught unawares. They had no voice or vote in bringing this great calamity upon them. . . . It has engendered a hatred for Government that is making sane men rebels against all government. . . I have seen tired mothers with no milk in their breasts for their babies—women who work hard deprived of their one luxury (beer)" (29). This was actually sent by Gompers to the President of the United States.

W. J. McSorley, president of the building trades section of the American Federation of Labor, said that 90 per cent of the workmen were making drink at home. "Everyone has his own special concoction. They even make wine out of parsnips" (30). Mr. Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union, declared that he had come solely to secure a modification that would benefit the moral and physical condition of sailors. He would "vote to let the

people have beer, clean, wholesome, mild beer, such as my mother used to make" (31). O'Connell of the metal trades and Frey of the Moulders indulged in similar discursive testimony. It is noticeable that O'Connell, while appealing for beer, declared that "organized labor is emphatically against anything that could possibly be done that would lead to the return of the oldtime, so-called corner saloon. We are against it soul and body with our very lives. We know what it was" (32). But the saloons were the brewers' property, the agencies by which their beer was marketed and the only agency by which it could ever again be distributed.

Puppets and Freemen

"It is my intention to put on this morning the representatives of the Federation of Labor," said Mr. Codman, as he displayed his witnesses. The Milwaukee Socialist, Mr. Berger, told us that all great men in history from Noah and Cæsar to General Grant had been drinking men and dwelt on the fact that a handful of beer-drinking Englishmen held in subjection three hundred million Hindu teetotalers (33). Between Milwaukee Socialism and Milwaukee beer there is a profound solidarity. Far different the attitude of the Vienna Socialist paper *Der Abstinent* (January, 1912): "Our task is ever again to prove what a theft of proletarian power the cursed content of the beer glass is." It was

labor in the last analysis which really crowned Mrs. Adolphus Busch with that $20,000 solid gold, diamond-studded circlet and paid for the golden dinner service at the $500,000 banquet. And in return it was labor which got the rotted kidneys and hobnailed livers which beer induces. When enlightened labor revolts against this beer peonage it is penalized for it. Typographical Union No. 12, Baltimore Federation of Labor, refused to endorse "the personal liberty movement." As a consequence, the brewers' union decided that all their printing should be done in shops employing German-American printers of Union 111 (34). On the other hand the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers are freemen who endorsed prohibition (May 25, 1915), snapping their fingers in the face of the malt-lords. They represent the most self-respecting element in union labor. Signs of revolt occur elsewhere occasionally. Thus when the Nebraska State Federation of Labor undertook wet pledges in 1915, the plumbers and steam-fitters repudiated their action and the typographical union of Lincoln voted to withdraw from the state federation (35).

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CHAPTER V

HOW IT BOYCOTTED BIG BUSINESS

Having organized on an elaborate scale, the brewers proceeded to put their machine into operation. Boycotting, under federal law, is a criminal offense, but the brewer was ever above law until himself outlawed by the Eighteenth Amendment. His uncanny power terrorized for a decade or more many of the chief business firms of the country and neither did the press dare expose him nor the government care to meddle with him. His boycotts took many forms. One was to acquire small amounts of bank-stock and to scatter accounts in as many banking institutions as possible. By this method pressure was brought to bear on bank trustees to prevent loans to "dry" merchants and manufacturers. "The vice president of my bank," wrote Weeden of the Texas Brewing Company, to Althans of the Anheuser-Busch Company, "is one of the best friends amongst the bankers we have, . . . but his associates are strong prohibitionists. He assures me that he has used the desirable balance which I have carried with him for many years successfully as an argument against the Philistines (prohibitionists), and that thus we have succeeded in, so to speak, splitting the bank on the question"

(1). And again Schumacher, to the Lone Star Brewing Company, writes that Mr. Bartlett, president of the First State Bank of Bloomington, takes part in local option, and, that "Business also in Victoria will be brought to bear upon the cashier of the Victoria National Bank, who is behind the First State Bank of Bloomington. . . . the people of Bloomington who have money deposited in the Bloomington Bank are withdrawing the same, and I believe from all indications this man Bartlett will be removed from office very soon" (2).

Disciplining the Railroads

Every one at cross purposes with the brewer, however remotely or with whatsoever sufficient justification, was punished. There was, for example, a troublesome bar on the ferryboat of the Southern Pacific, between San Francisco and Oakland. The general manager of the railway decided to close it. The drink interest, so the story goes, threatened to throw two million dollars of freight annually to the Sante Fe Railroad, which retained the bar on its boat across the Bay. The Southern Pacific capitulated. Again, when Arizona went dry, the town of Needles, California, was used as a distributing center for illicit sales in prohibition areas and was itself a nauseous saloon town. An Irish-American train-despatcher found that he could not raise his family in decency because of the drink, and started a local

option petition. Liquor men brought pressure to bear on the division superintendent of the road, but his intervention failed to suppress the train-despatcher, determined to exercise his rights as an American citizen. The Catholic priest was induced to intervene, but without result. Then the train-despatcher was summoned to the Los Angeles office of the Santa Fe and shown correspondence of customers whose freight bills soared into the hundreds of thousands and who protested against this employee's activities. These correspondents, who had been mobilized by the drink interest, ranged from Chicago to Los Angeles. There was no local option election. This incident was told me by the late Doctor Gandier of the California Anti-Saloon League. Similar incidents have documentary confirmation. Mr. Leeds of the San Antonio and Atlantic Pacific Railroad helped in prohibition work. Holmgreen wrote to Paget, when he learned of this: "Wouldn't it be a good plan to ship . . . around by Laredo, and if you would instruct all dealers (at Alice) to ship via Tex.-Mex. I will do so, and four or five cars per month might cause inquiry and Mr. L. will have to come across and let others do the fighting" (3).

Still more flagrant was the following. After the wreck on the Lackawanna at Corning, N. Y., in which forty persons were killed and seventy-five injured, the Lackawanna Railroad Company issued

an order prohibiting certain classes of their employees from drinking. Immediately the brewers brought pressure to bear upon their freight solicitors and traffic managers. The railroad company was obliged to write that it did not require its men to be total abstainers, that they could drink what they wished in their homes and that the road was not in favor of prohibition and served beer in its buffets, etc. This wreck was due to a drunken engineer (4).

The Case of Mr. Heinz

The offences against brewerdom for which business men were punished ran through a long gamut. Heinz, the pickle king, was elected president of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath-School Association. This association passed temperance resolutions. Detectives were forthwith sent out over the country to check up on Heinz, and a boycott was instituted. The innocent merchant ate his plate of crow in model form. In a letter to Halle of the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association, he said: "You have every opportunity to ascertain from people in Pittsburgh, liquor men included, who have known me personally or by reputation for many years, how my word is regarded among those who know me best. I . . . reiterate that neither myself, my firm or any member of it has given or promised to give any amount to the Anti-Saloon League or any

similar organization and this answer goes to the substance of the whole matter." Heinz even threatened proceedings against any circulating stories that he had subscribed to Anti-Saloon League funds (5).

Fifty-seven Varieties of Victims

Procter and Gamble were boycotted. The Sherwin-Williams Company was declared suspect because it had put up posters against drunkenness. The Allen Motor Car Company was disciplined. The Western Union Telegraph Company was on the brewers' unfair list. It had demanded that its employees be total abstainers. The Maryland Casualty Company refused to take accident risks on habitual drinkers and was boycotted. Mr. Crain, the brewers' attorney, advised against this, but Mr. Fox insisted that they had by such procedure either silenced opposition or won an ally (6). The Macey Company, Grand Rapids, made arrangements with milk companies to visit the factories at 10 A. M., and forbade use of alcoholic beverages. It was called to book. The Escanaba Manufacturing Company, Michigan, put on pay checks "Not to be cashed in a saloon." Fox "took this under consideration." Confidential circulars notified the trade concerning James Horton of the Horton Ice Cream Company, James Smith, of the Shenango Pottery Company, Mr. Schumacher, of the Cumberland Glass Company, and Mr. Crass, the Superintendent of the

Graselli Chemical Company. Mr. Crass had helped to bring Billy Sunday to Newcastle, Pennsylvania. The Graselli sales in anhydrous ammonia began to fall off immediately. In the correspondence which followed Crass was described as a dangerous man for the brewing interests, who ought to be placed where he could be controlled. Attempt was made first to have him discharged; this failing, to have him write a letter of retraction and a pledge of future good conduct. Mr. Fox insisted that such a letter should not merely express his regret in embarrassing the firm, but if possible should indicate "a change of heart based on a more careful study of the situation."

The Osborn Manufacturing Company was asked by the Feuchtwanger Grain Company (malt, hops, and brewers' supplies), to contribute to wet campaign funds in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. They replied that they were ready to "furnish such brushes and brooms as will contribute to cleanliness and general good conditions, (but) we cannot support the liquor traffic because we feel that the American saloon is detrimental to the best interests of the American people and the American home." Feuchtwanger sent the letter to Mr. Fox, saying, "You may use same with the trade" (7).

The boycotting program of the brewers was but in its beginnings, yet they had already a long blacklist of important firms. In their archives was found

this "list of firms unfriendly to our interests." It included the following and many more:

Pennsylvania Railroad.
Pittsburgh Steel Company.
United Natural Gas Company (Standard Oil).
Page Woven Wire Fence Company.
Monessen Foundry and Machine Company.
Whitall-Tatum Company (Glass Manufacturers).
Pittsburgh, Bessemer and Erie Company.
Pittsburgh Coal Company.
Cambria Steel Company.
Philadelphia Quartz Company.
Hillside Coal and Iron Company.
American Rolling Mill Company.
Liggett's Drug Stores. (They had refused to sell liquor.)
Hershey Chocolate Company.
B. F. Goodrich.
Goodyear Rubber Company.
Firestone Rubber Company.
Miller Rubber Company.
Fox Typewriter Company.
F. T. Bowser and Company, Fort Wayne.
S. S. Marvin, of National Biscuit Company.
S. S. Kresge Company.
Warner Chemical Company.
Ohio Steel Foundry Company.
Gramm Motor Company.
Waverly Oil Company.
Madison Cooper Company.
Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

Members of Rogers, Peet and Company, New York clothiers, had contributed to the movement against the saloon. They soon felt the crack of the whip. A mass of letters were turned loose on them. When the firm was ready to announce that

"the situation had entirely changed" their patronage was restored. Certain men in this firm had contributed to local option contests. Mr. Fox, in a letter marked "confidential," after stating this fact said, "All of this is for your information." Later he wrote: "I think that a few more such letters will have Rogers, Peet and Company on the anxious seat." His surmise was correct. This firm wrote that though some of their company had contributed to local option funds none of them were prohibitionists (8). Perish the thought!

The Nichols Copper Company issued a notice saying that they had found that men who drank liquor were injured much more often than those who did not, and therefore forbade their men bringing beer or other drink into the plant. As the brewers could not "get" the Nichols Company in any other way, Ernest Bohm, secretary of the Central Federated Labor Union of New York, was secured presumably to stir up trouble among the workmen. He wrote: "I have taken the matter up with the different trades and we are going after them hot footed. Will give you the information as the fight progresses"* (9).

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* In article 11 of Senator Jones' statement to the Overman Committee, he says: "The aforesaid organizations and individuals have also encouraged the starting of strikes in dry territory and instigated local troubles in shops and factories whose owners and managers favored prohibition." (O. R., p. 29.)

War on Packard Motor

The Packard Motor Company had an advertising agent, Mr. Estep, who was spunky enough in the universal silence to sputter out the truth about the newspapers. It was at a meeting of advertisers, and he said: "We write articles for Printers' Ink about ethics in business. Then we go out and become the hired megaphones of brewing interests, which run all the dives in this country and successfully conduct the business of drunken darkies' orgies and white slavery" (10).

Such frankness was unheard of and demanded immediate attention. The counsel for the Michigan State Brewers' Association, wrote to President Joy of the Packard Company, "At the present time your vehicles are being used by some of my clients and others are contemplating purchase of your machines. This being true it is only fair that the matter be brought to your attention."

President Joy replied in a brave letter, but soon "crawled." He wrote the Christ. Diehl Brewing Company his regrets—"They (the remarks) do not reflect the sentiment of this Company." To the Goebel Brewing Company: "I appreciate to the fullest extent the co-operative efforts the brewers have made to eliminate objectionable retail saloons and to bring the saloon into a sphere of respectability. . . . . In this work the brewers have accom-

plished and are accomplishing untold good." To Mr. Fox he wrote: "I have a large number of friends in the brewing business in Detroit. . . . Generally the brewers . . . are as much interested in the welfare of the people as you or I." "We are doing our very best to stamp out the continued circulation of the Estep remarks. I sincerely hope that you can aid us in preventing the continued republication of them in brewery trade papers" (11).

Follow Mr. Fox's comments to a beer correspondent: "President Joy of the Packard Company has written us unreservedly to this effect (*i. e.,* that they are suppressing the remarks of Estep), and the offending party, Mr. Estep, has placed in the hands of our President (*i. e.,* the president of the U. S. Brewers' Association) a letter in which he acknowledges his error and asks that it be not laid up to his employers (the Packard Motor Car Company). It would therefore seem best on all sides to let the matter drop, and this notice is sent out to our members in order that any prejudice affecting the Packard Company may be removed" (12).

The aforesaid brewer, Goebel, also indulged in reflections on this triumph: "I have in my possession enough correspondence to hold them (the Packard Company) for all time to come and believe that we have made sincere friends and that through their influence many muzzles will be clasped on tight. I placed an order yesterday for another

Packard truck, and believe the proper thing for us to do now would be to send a circular to the trade that would convince all concerned of the true position of the Packard people. Mr. Estep's resignation was demanded by the company, but upon my advice was not accepted, as I thought best to hold a person with such a tongue where he could be controlled rather than be turned loose and given an opportunity to continue his talk" (13).

Goodyear Tire's Experience

Other automobile manufacturers fared no better. Werstein, of the Pabst Brewing Company, writes: "The breweries should all get together and boycott the Reo Automobile Company, of Lansing, Michigan" (14). Koenig writes, "There are several people in Milwaukee who are connected either directly or indirectly with the brewing and liquor business who are owners of Reo cars and who have come to me for definite information. Should matters be as you state in your issue of July 18th, they would all be willing to sell their cars at a sacrifice in order to show them up" (15). The Goodyear Rubber Company, in their trade paper, "The Wingfoot Clan," had published some results of the scientific investigation of alcohol. They were boycotted and were obliged to write humiliating letters, so humiliating in fact that Mr. Fox even thought of them as prospective allies on the wet side. He

wrote: "The question is whether the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is not now in such a chastened mood that its support might easily be obtained provided you think that the company is of sufficient importance from the Ohio viewpoint." He was magnanimous enough to add that he thought it unwise to insist on the dismissal of the men who wrote the article objected to. In spite of the fact, however, that the secretary of the Goodyear Company denied that his salesmen wore dry buttons and affirmed that it contributed one per cent of its returns from brewery trade to the brewery defense fund, Mr. Fox remarked, "I do not feel justified, under these circumstances (that the majority of the board of directors were dry), in sending any letter to our members exonerating the company, at the present time" (16). President Seiberling, of the Goodyear Company had declined to write: "Prohibition has absolutely broken down, the licensing system is the best and practical one, compensation out of the public funds should be granted when drinkshops are closed."

Mr. A. P. Daniels, of the Manufacturers and Dealers' Association, pleaded for the penitent firm. They had joined his association and had "had a banquet where wine was served" and ought to have "a fair trial" (17). Holm, of the Anheuser-Busch Company, was also ready to welcome the penitent home. "They have been penitent and seen the

errors of their ways, and declare themselves on our side when all the others of the big tire concerns are neutral" (18). These were his terms, sent to Stadelman, Secretary of the Goodyear Company: "If you . . . declare your opposition to State and National Prohibition I am in a position to assure you that it will result in an official letter being sent to all the U. S. B. A. members and affiliations in the United States. Think it over—not one out of one thousand owners of automobiles who have money to spend are for prohibition. The Firestone people have completely cleared themselves and now I would like you to take this one more step to wipe out your competitors' argument that you are not friendly to us" (19).

An Indirect Boycott

When the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association removed the Garlock Packing Company from their black list they sent this notification: "Kindly disregard any former communication stating that The Garlock Packing Company were antagonistic to us, as they are not at this time, nor have they ever been. We will appreciate it if you will make it a point to notify the people who do the buying for you not to shut The Garlock Packing Company out, but would suggest that you favor them as you did in the past" (20). The American Rolling Mill Company could not be reached directly through the

trade. Mr. Fox, therefore, suggested that brewery architects and engineers who specified iron work in the construction of brewery buildings should be notified. Letters were sent, therefore, to some seventeen architects and engineers. The crime of this company was that it had included certain anti-alcohol material in its Armco Bulletin (21). The brewers also boasted of the discharge of a Mr. Meek from the head of the American Art Works, "fired out after having shown his sympathy for the prohibition movement" (22).

Principles Not on Sale at Wanamaker's

Not all were pliable. John Wanamaker received a bullying letter from a liquor man named Meyers. "I have indicated my position by printing on my checks, 'A Check Against Prohibition,' many of which have been received by your company in settlement of my charge account with you." Mr. Wanamaker replied that he was in a sense a father of his 12,000 employees and had suffered and lost so much from employees who had killed themselves and ruined their families that he could not be in favor of intoxicating beverages. "Personal [interest] to serve my business can never bribe me to change my principles" (23). The Wanamaker Company was promptly boycotted. For one thing, a $20,000 tapestry order from a well-known hotel is said to have been cancelled.

"We Do Not Boycott"

In order to avoid legal consequences the brewers pretended that all this was not boycott. Major Humes, in taking Fox's testimony, asked: "Was it not a common experience to have members of your association, or the officers of the State brewers' association, request that a certain concern be blacklisted or boycotted from time to time, and to use those expressions 'boycott' or 'blacklist'; and did you not reply to them in each instance that 'we do not boycott, we cannot boycott, but give me the definite information, and I will notify the trade'; and were you not very careful to avoid the use of the word 'boycott' in this correspondence, although your members, who were not as familiar with the law as you were, frequently used it?"

Mr. Fox: "I think very probably, sir" (24).

While Fox was too vulpine to give publicity to these operations, others were not so shrewd. Neuberger, President of the Everard Breweries, speaking at the Palace Casino, promised that in three months he would have enlisted in this campaign of direct attack every brewer, trades union, and real estate organization in the country. "This is an attack . . . not defence. We are going after these men, confident that when their purses are hit they will quit like dogs. . . . When we enlist the cigar-dealers, grocers, real-estate organizations, clothing

dealers and organized labor, we will be prepared to fight to a finish" (25).

Neuberger is quoted in the Brewers' Journal, June 1, 1915. He is speaking of S. S. Marvin, manager of the National Biscuit Company. "Ten days ago I received a delegation from the National Biscuit Company. . . . The appeal finally simmered down to three words, 'Please let go.' . . . They said, 'Mr. Neuberger, would you turn 5,000 men out of employment and into the street . . .?' 'Well, my friends, I'll tell you what I'll do. When the National Biscuit Company throws Mr. Marvin out into the street, out of the board of directors, and contributes a sufficient sum to the labor organizations for publicity to show that you don't mean to uphold Mr. Marvin, then I will let go.'

"If you find any man belonging to organized labor about to enter Wanamaker's store use lawful, decent persuasion (to keep him out). . . . How many of you men and women will follow on the trail of all these concerns? (Shouts of 'We all will.')"

The Solvay Case

The Solvay Process Company is a large firm manufacturing soda and other chemicals near Syracuse, New York. They had been much troubled by the saloons in the little town of Solvay and took part in a local option fight for their closing. Of these sa-

loons a member of the Haberle Brewing Company, Syracuse, wrote at the time:

"At a local option campaign two years ago they (the Solvay Company) were very bitter against the liquor traffic and if you called at Solvay you would say that they were justified. Nearly all the stores on the principal streets of Solvay are occupied as saloons, in reality 'dumps.' This condition came about through the greed of one of our competitors (a brewer) who controlled eighty-five per cent of the places and refuses to eliminate any of them."

But the Solvay Process people were not absolved, good though their case was. They soon received word from the American Bottle Company, who, as the president of that firm announced, had bought their product "for what might be called a life-time," that they were in trouble. Mr. Jack, the president of the American Bottle Company, wrote to Mr. Fox pleading for an interview for Mr. Knapp of the Solvay Company: "We earnestly bespeak for Mr. Knapp your kind consideration and attention." Mr. Knapp went to New York and signed a letter which Mr. Fox dictated in his presence. This signature was the *sine qua non* of the removal of the boycott from the Solvay products. Here it is:

"Gentlemen:

In response to your query as to the attitude of the Solvay Process Company on the license question,

we beg to say that we are thoroughly in accord with the suggestions made by the National Committee representing the various branches of the liquor interests as reported in the Associated Press despatches which were published on July 1st. We believe in well-regulated saloons under responsible and intelligent management, and are in favor of the license system.

We feel that the attempt on the part of employers to dictate to their men as to their private conduct and personal habits during their leisure time is absolutely mischievous and unwarranted. The employer has the right to insist upon the sobriety and efficiency of his men and to make rules for their conduct during the time that they are at work, but this is as far as he should go.

Trusting that this is satisfactory, we are,

Very truly yours,"

The Mammon of Unrighteousness Makes Friends

The purpose of this letter is made clear by Mr. Fox. He writes: "We are anxious to win the friendship of all important business interests such as the Solvay Process Company, and from my conversation with Mr. Knapp, I judge that the company would be willing to write us a letter setting forth their attitude on the saloon question generally, and on the proper attitude of employing corporations toward their men in regard to the alcohol question. I think that

such a letter would be extremely helpful to us especially in view of the adverse attitude of so many of the large industrial concerns . . . representatives from the State of Washington and from Michigan tell us that the reason we have lost so heavily in those States lately is because of the pressure exercised by industrial corporations upon their men."

Hall, of the Haberle Brewing Company, writes Fox regarding this humbling of the Solvay Process concern: "I consider it a triumph. The officers of the Solvay Company are liberal men and all enjoy their beverage. Congratulating you on this achievement, I remain,"

The further correspondence of Mr. Knapp with Mr. Fox shows that the spirit of '76 still survives in big business circles. "If there is anything further which we can do in this matter, I should be grateful if you would advise us"; and again, "your letter of July 16, saying that ours of the 2nd is satisfactory, is before me. If it is proper, I should like to ask if we might have a copy of the letter which you sent to the brewers saying that the statement of our position was satisfactory to your association. If we had a copy of that letter we could show it to the brewers when the question was raised, and it would go a long way in backing up our statement that our position is satisfactory to the brewery trade.

"If there is anything improper in what I ask or if you have any reason why you do not wish to fur-

nish a copy of your letter I know you will not hesitate to say so, and we shall quite understand your position."

Don't You Dare!

The Solvay pacifist was a little later again pulled up short. Liquor men complained that certain carpenters, patrolmen, and other underlings of the Solvay Company had signed a local option petition. Crack went Fox's whip!

"Solvay Process Co.

Attention of Mr. Knapp:

I have a letter from one of our people in Syracuse stating that while they have no doubt whatever as to your sincerity and that of your associates they think it proper to call your attention to the fact that . . . a number of the men employed in positions of responsibility signed the dry petition."

Mr. Knapp sent the following spirited reply to the authorized champions of personal liberty:

"We beg to acknowledge yours of November 4th, and thank you for the information contained therein. Of course the Chief of our Patrol Department is rather a subordinate position, but we shall try to keep an eye on the matter hereafter and advise our men to keep out of movements of this kind. The town went for license by a large majority, which we assume adjusts the matter satisfactorily for the present" (26).

General Motors Called to Book

In similar manner the brewers went after General Motors, because two men in a subsidiary company had interested themselves in the fight against them. These were Mr. H. M. Leland and his son, of the Cadillac Automobile Company. Major Humes, in cross-questioning Mr. Fox, said: "Because the sales manager, Mr. Leland, who had no stock in the company, advocated the temperance cause, you boycotted the corporation, did you not, and you tried to get the General Motors Co. to get rid of Leland, and they advised you they had no control over him, that that was a separate company . . .?"

Mr. Fox assented.

The General Manager of General Motors complained that "we are discriminated against . . . because of the views of the Lelands, who are in no way connected with our Company (save indirectly as employees of the Cadillac Motor Company)." Even brewer Andreae thought this was going rather strong. He wrote Mr. Fox that representatives of the General Motors of Pontiac, Michigan, had called on him, saying that the boycott had already cost them a hundred thousand dollars. They contended that competing automobile manufacturers had started this story of the Lelands in order to deflect business from the General Motors. Andreae concluded with, "We need all the friends we can

obtain, and while I am strongly inclined to smite our enemies hip and thigh wherever I can find them, I certainly believe it to be foolish to injure hundreds of friends merely in order to hit one enemy who may be concealed among those friends." Mr. Fox, however, was not disturbed. "It is literally true," he wrote brewer Schmidt of Philadelphia, "that one manufacturer after another who has been opposing us has been brought to terms and in a number of cases has been changed from an opponent to a friend." And to brewer Goebel of Detroit: "If the Cadillac Motor Car Company would write a letter, stating that it is opposed to prohibition, and believes that the License system is the best way of regulating the liquor traffic, we could well afford to 'shake hands with them.'" This the Cadillac people never did, however (27).

No Deliveries on Packard Trucks

One other case: Governor Alvan T. Fuller, of Massachusetts, affirmed (Boston Post, August 14, 1916) his conviction that the liquor interests worked through their political connections on Beacon Hill to harass Reverend William Sunday. "You will remember that the bill exempting the Sunday Tabernacle from the building laws was passed by the legislature before the primary elections. It was not vetoed until after the elections.

"Within a week after my name was published as

chairman of the Sunday campaign finance committee a dozen orders for Packard trucks were cancelled by liquor concerns and express companies. . . . They went so far as to send back liquor to railroad stations whenever it was delivered in Packard trucks. The liquor men refused to have anything to do with express and delivery concerns which used Packard trucks merely because I am head of the Boston branch and am identified with the Sunday movement."

The Boycott Brought Results

The Boston Herald (May 16, 1910) refers to the effectiveness of the brewers' boycotts: "At least twenty-three prominent concerns and individuals who signed the original petition for the Bar and Bottle Bill two years ago refused to allow the use of their names in the petition accompanying the bill which has just been enacted though it was an exact duplicate of the one they had endorsed. Not one gave as a reason that he had changed his opinion as to the merits of the bill. Many of them gave as reason injuries received to their business. Thus, 'As an individual I am in sympathy with your move, but I have found after signing the petition last year that a great deal of influence had been brought by the opposition to injure the business which I represent by reason of my signature to that petition.' Another: 'The occasion of our name being on the

original petition has brought a considerable opposition and loss of business by the concerted action of a class opposed to the measure.' "

Attacking the Right of Petition

Finally, the right of petition to Congress was attacked by the brewers' organizations. A large group of Chicago business men appealed to Congress to pass the Barkley-Webb amendments to the Lever Bill. Each of these firms immediately received a bullying letter from the Chicago Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association. The implied threat of boycott is obvious in this communication:

"Gentlemen: At the request of several valuable customers of yours who are members of this association, we take the liberty of asking if you really did sign a petition that was sent to each congressman in Washington, asking them to vote favorably on the Barkley-Webb amendments. The name of your firm appears on all petitions. Every man knows his own business best. The firms making the request wish to give you the benefit of the doubt. Would you mind telling us if you did or did not sign the petition. An early reply will be appreciated.

Yours in anticipation,"

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CHAPTER VI

HOW IT DISHONORED WOMANHOOD

Miss Jane Addams has described alcohol as the indispensable vehicle of commercialized prostitution. All the tracks uncovered by the various Vice Commissions of the decade 1908-1918 ran straight back to the breweries. The American public has a long score against these German peasants grown rich in a degrading business, but it is the hot wrath of the American woman which should flame out against them in especial intensity. For their humiliation of womanhood has been both cynical and iniquitous.

When the Minnesota Senate Committee investigated vice conditions in Minnesota cities, police officials testified that in raiding resorts they always found beer in cases and that the beer came from every brewing company in the city save one. When arrests were made for sale in these dives "it was the agents of the brewers who went to the courts and provided the law-breakers with money to pay cash bail." Minnesota brewing companies, it came out in this evidence, bought properties for houses of ill-fame, placing agents in charge of the same. They supplied illegal haunts with beer and placed on de-

posit amounts up to $1,000 to pay fines imposed* (1).

The Chicago Vice Report

So too in Chicago, Mr. Arthur Burrage Farwell in 1911 printed a long list of the worst dives in the city. On their bonds were the names of such brewers as Anheuser-Busch, Theurer, Peter Schoenhaufen. The Admiral, the Mecca, the Capital, and other infamous places operated by brewers, were run in direct connection with houses of ill-fame. The Chicago Vice Report stated that "in the Com-

* The brewers were able to hold up this Minnesota investigation before it was finished. Lynn Haines in "The Minnesota Legislature of 1911" (p. 66) illustrated how brewers' influence works. "It has always been the custom in Minnesota on the last night of the session to set the clock back and thus to work after midnight. On this occasion (a city local option bill being under consideration) a crowd of saloon sympathizers from among the members gathered about the clock and refused to permit officers of the House to touch it. This brewery bunch was reinforced by a gang of rowdies who prevented the insurgents from reaching the clock from the south gallery.

"Later a bill *for the protection of girls* passed the House and was held in the Senate until a few minutes before twelve on the last night. The Upper House had amended the measure by striking out one word, thus necessitating its repassage by the House. The brewery bunch was again guarding the clock and forced final adjournment before it could be acted on."

It is worth noting that of the thirteen members of the Baltimore Vice Commission, all opposed segregation of prostitution save one, a German brewer named Gottlieb, who submitted a minority report favoring the return to a segregated vice district for the city. (The Double Shame of Baltimore, p. 9—reprinted from the Survey.)

mission's consideration and investigation of the social evil it found as the most conspicuous element next to the house of prostitution itself . . . the liquor interest. As a contributory influence to immorality and the business of prostitution there is no interest so dangerous and so powerful in the city of Chicago. The brewery companies . . . have gone on record as in favor of the elimination of the sale of liquor in connection with prostitution. In spite of this fact hundreds of prostitutes (928 counted by the Commission's investigators) are permitted and encouraged in no less than 236 saloons which were investigated by the Commission. Many of these are under the control of brewing companies." An investigation of these 236 saloons showed that representatives of fourteen brewing companies were on surety bonds for 63 in addition to a number of individual bondsmen connected with breweries. The report mentioned recent purchases of licenses by breweries for disreputable resorts in the restricted districts of Chicago (2).

This business was very profitable. Beer costing four cents per pint bottle sold from twenty-five cents up to one dollar. One keeper stated that prior to May 1, 1910, when the rule prohibiting liquor sales in these houses went into effect, she averaged in profits on beer $1,200 to $1,500 a month. The Commission estimated that the yearly profits on the sale of liquor, chiefly beer, in Chicago houses of

prostitution amounted to $2,915,760. In disorderly saloons, that is, saloons with prostitutes attached, $4,307,000 (3).

Brewers' Dances

The Illinois Senate Vice Committee of 1916 gives repulsive pictures of the dance halls of Chicago. Schlitz Hall, owned by the Schlitz brewery, is "very dirty; ventilation terrible; blue with smoke and heavy with the odors of liquor. In case of fire it would be impossible to get out one half of this crowd of a thousand. Most of both the men and women were drunk." "The Hesperian Hall, attended by some 400, is filthy beyond description. German women sit around and see their children misbehave vilely. Drunken fellows are spitting and spilling beer all over the floor. Long intermissions between dances enable the people to drink more beer." Pages 491-2 of this report give descriptions of orgies in the East End dance hall owned by the Grand Brewery and page 51 remarks: "That intoxicants play a conspicuous part in the undoing of many girls is a matter of general knowledge so adequately covered in previous reports and court records as to require no further elaboration." "Special bar permits," testified Mrs. Joseph Bowen to the Commission, "allow the sale of liquor from 3 P. M. to 3 A. M. while saloons are obliged to close at 1 A. M. At that time the disreputable elements come

out of the saloons and go to the dance halls and it is usually between the hours of one and three that so many terrible things occur." Mrs. Bowen was asked why the saloon-keepers did not protest against this unfair competition. "I am told," she replied, "that it lays with the breweries" (4).

She was not misinformed. Senator Tossey said (p. 667): "There is evidence before this Committee that showed that the breweries rented out these houses of ill-fame or sub-leased them to madams." In her study of public dance halls in Chicago, Mrs. Bowen stated that these places were "largely controlled by brewery, saloon, and vice interests."

The Aftermath

She also stated that these halls existed rather for the sale of liquor than for dancing. Prizes were offered to the girl who, at the end of the month, had the largest number of drinks placed to her credit. The consequences were as would be expected. Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, president of the Illinois Training School for Nurses, testified before the City Council License Committee on Drink and Dance Halls: "I want to make a plea for the girls between 15 and 20. I am speaking here as the representative of the nurses of the Cook County Hospital, where we have to face the facts squarely. Disgrace and disease are the results of the sale of liquor at dances. In the normal maternity ward in

the Cook County Hospital 400 illegitimate babies have been born during the last year. This is 36 per cent of the entire number born in the hospital. Since November, 1915, forty-three girls under 20 years old who have been in the surgical ward for operations resulting from social diseases have attributed their troubles to liquor and dance halls. Of this number three have tried to commit suicide by taking bi-chloride of mercury" (5). And Mrs. Bowen describes "the girl mothers constantly coming in to us and the story they almost universally tell is that their downfall began in the liquor-selling dance hall." Some 80,000 young people foregathered at these 900 places nightly. The great obstacle to divorcing drink from them was the United Societies, a combination of German societies backed by the brewers (6).

Other Vice Investigations

The Newark Vice Report told the same story: "The saloon is the largest contributing influence to immorality and the business of prostitution in the cities of New Jersey." The Report of the Wisconsin Vice Committee said: "The chief direct cause of the downfall of women and girls is the close connection between alcoholic drink and commercialized vice." "Not only do we find that liquor is the immediate cause of the downfall of a very large percentage of girls, but also that alcoholic drink is one

of the chief adjuncts of the business (of prostitution). Every recognized house of ill-fame has liquor for sale and not one of them has been found to have a local license for such sale. Nevertheless the liquor is openly delivered (*i. e.*, by the brewers). Beer is sold at $1.00 a bottle and every inmate is urged to ply the sale" (pages 98-100). The report (p. 156) insists that the brewers have the power to stop these abuses and to make saloons comply with state laws "by refusing to sell liquor to or furnish bonds for those who willfully violate the laws."

The Massachusetts Commission for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic reported that in the larger cities of the state "the most flagrant and open expression of the commercialized aspect of prostitution is in connection with certain cafes and saloons. These places are known to be very profitable from a commercial point of view. The reason for their existence is the profit from the sale of alcoholic liquor to the prospective customers of the prostitutes" (7). Dean Walter Sumner said of San Francisco: "The organized liquor interests form the greatest exploiter of vice. There is no influence in the community to-day so evil as this. Within the next decade some national political party will make its sole issue on the liquor question, and it will be found that every woman in the land will support it" (8).

Preying on the Troops

It would be possible greatly to enlarge evidence of this type, but we refrain. During the troubles on the Mexican frontier in President Wilson's administration the brewers followed the troops. Dr. Paul Revere Frothingham, replying to Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, said: "It is stated, and on authority I believe to be good authority, that the worst centers of vice on the whole Mexican border were owned and organized by a brewery company. The brewing company brought women from various parts of the country, quartered them in disreputable homes which adjoined the company's saloons, and then established a line of motor busses which ran from the camps to the brothels. Beer and brothels went together, and the second grew out of the first." (The Congregationalist, July 5, 1917.)

Again: the Peter Breidt Brewery, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, ran the American Hotel, a vice resort called "The Morgue," at Long Branch, with twenty-eight harlots. It was a trap for soldiers on the army reservation at Sandy Hook. Until the brewers took hold of it this hotel was a reputable place. It was eventually suppressed by the courts (9).

Dives North and South

The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company had agencies and breweries all over the South. One of

them, the Caddo Brewing Company, of Shreveport, controlled two unspeakably filthy Negro dives, "George's Place" and "Cæsar's Place" (10). Adolphus Busch telegraphed to the Texas Brewers' Association urging them to weed out disreputable saloons "in order to prevent danger to the beer industry." The comment of S. T. Morgan of the Dallas Brewery was: "So you see that the main offenders in the past have realized that to save the brewing business they must change their ways." For the brewers' talk of reform was the most impudent *façade*. Thomas Anderson, political boss of New Orleans, kept a saloon in the center of the prostitute quarter which dominated the quarter. He sold a blue book, or directory, for both white and colored girls. The right-hand page listed the prostitutes, the left-hand pages were filled with brewers' advertisements, among them those of the Anheuser-Busch Company (11). Cornelius Dougherty published during the five years up to 1919, in the Philadelphia Liquor-Dealers' Journal, earnest pleas for the suppression of dives. The Brewers' Association is said to have quietly purchased the paper and ended his agitation. The Vindicator (October 20 and November 3, 1911) described certain Chicago beer dives. The brewers assembled in convention had passed their usual resolutions against these places. Seven blocks away from their convention hall was one of the vilest houses in the city, owned by the Conrad

Seipp Brewing Company, of which Andreae, the reformer of the trade, was president. This place was called "The Turf." The signers of the bonds were the management and agent of the Seipp Brewery and on the front of the place was a big Seipp sign. The California, a bar-room which was connected with a big house of prostitution, displayed the Anheuser-Busch signs and its bonds were signed by agents of that company for the company.

Reform Resolutions

At a meeting of the trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association in 1913, Nagel remarked: "I also found in my investigations that while we were adopting resolutions against these places for years and had in many instances notified the authorities that we wanted certain things done, some of our members would go to these very same authorities, after the meeting was over, and suggest that the resolutions should not be carried into effect" (12).

So brewer Adoue: "I have received physical demonstration of the insincerity of the most of our members." "I know that the charge is true," continues Autrey. "I well remember the time when the Brewers' Association was first formed, and the resolution (passed) committing the brewers to the purification of the business and to the aiding of officers in suppressing and prosecuting crime was submitted by Mr. Adoue. . . . We spoke of the sad fact that

the hobo saloon and the disreputable places are the best customers of the Texas brewers. . . ." So, too, Weeden, "The Anheuser Busch methods and people in the past have done more than all the rest put together to cause the trouble in this state, and elsewhere" (13). Paget wrote to Fox that the history of the Texas Brewers' Association would "make a *strong anti-saloon document,*" that they had not been sincere in their clean-up declarations. "All their energies appear to be expended in an effort to 'sell one more keg of beer.'" And Prince ironically adds that the only chance for brewers to become real good will be when they are "dead Indians" (14). It may be added that according to the *Sacramento Bee* (strongly wet) the wine interests of California feared to reform the saloons because of a possible boycott of their products by saloons in the East.

Obscenely Branded Whiskey for the Negro

It is a fact to be remembered that in most respects the distillers were a far more decent lot than the brewers. Many of them were Americans. But there were exceptions, and these should be noted to complete the picture. In certain Southern cities were distilling firms which distinguished themselves by corrupting the blacks with cheap whiskey. A reporter in Collier's described certain of these. "Lee, Levy and Company of St. Louis make a popular

and widely sold brand (of whiskey). If I should give its name here or attempt to describe its label this publication could not go through the mails. It states its purpose in plain words. Still more plain are the advertising cards which Levy distributes by tons through the black belt. In his factory in St. Louis young girls paste those labels and pack those cards." Blumenthal, Bidkart and Co. were makers of similarly obscenely-branded whiskey, but without the women picture. Also Dreyfuss, Weil and Co., of Paducah, Ky. (15).

The relations of this industry to assaults on Southern white women by drunken and inflamed Negroes and subsequent lynchings was quickly seen by Southern Americans and gave a powerful impetus to the prohibition movement.

The Brewers vs. Woman Suffrage

Finally, these German brewers used all their influence to keep the ballot from American women—a thing for American women to remember. Henry Theunen wrote to the brewers concerning Iowa: "We are of the opinion that Woman's Suffrage can be defeated, although we believe that the liquor interests should not be known as the contending force against this amendment" (16). O. Schmidt: "The women's suffrage in the state (Nebraska) we defeated two years ago at a tremendous expense" (17). Schlichting says regarding women's school

suffrage, which he claims to have defeated in South Dakota: "Had that passed . . . You all know what that means . . . We have defeated women's suffrage at three different times" (18). Mr. Fox, while disassociating his crowd publicly from the anti-suffrage side, was in touch with it: "We are, however, in position to establish channels of communication with *the leaders of the Anti-Suffrage Movement for our friends in any State where suffrage is an issue*" (19).

"There is only one force active and powerful enough," said The Woman's Journal at the time, "to hold back women's suffrage. These interests have worked secretly when they could and in the open when they had to. They have blown upon the sparks of prejudice. They have tried to mix sectarian issues. They have used the anti-suffrage associations as a screen. In Iowa and Pennsylvania they have utilized a Republican machine; in Maine and Kentucky a Democratic one. In New Hampshire, Oregon, and California they subverted the labor unions. In Massachusetts they pitted Catholic against Protestant and Protestant against Catholic. In the South they have played on the bugaboo of the Negro vote. In Washington they corrupted a court. In Michigan, in 1916, they actually stole the vote from the women after it had been granted."

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CHAPTER VII

HOW IT OVERRODE LAW

> The Brewers' Journal in its issue for May 1, 1910, made this pronouncement editorially: "No matter what 'laws' may be made to cripple the beverages industries of our present times, they cannot and will not be observed by those managing these industries."

These *uitlanders* have lived up to this declaration. Not a law of the United States has remained untrampled upon by them if it in the remotest degree obstructed their operations.

Parallel to their legalized business they have carried on a vast underground illegal trade. In 1910, for example, it was discovered that although 34,884 federal tax receipts had been taken out to sell drink in New York State the entire number of legalized places was but 27,949. In other words nearly seven thousand places were selling drink without a state license and a similar condition prevailed in other states. In the brewers' stronghold, Milwaukee, this situation was even illegally legalized. The Baker Law limited the number of saloons to one in 250 of population. The courts declared this law constitutional. Yet in 1913 the license committee of the

Common Council of Milwaukee recommended that licenses be given to *all* persons engaged in the saloon business, state law or no state law, and the majority of the Common Council voted for it. This gave a quasi-legal status to some 250 blind pigs (1).

Brewers Back the Blind Pigs

In Pittsburgh the licensed dealers appealed to Mayor Magee to suppress the 2,000 illegal places in the city, but were opposed by the brewers who sold beer in those places. "The situation has become unbearable," said President Keefe of the Liquor Dealers' Association of Pittsburgh. "It is making it almost impossible for a retail dealer to pay his rents and make profit. At the very lowest estimate, the speak-easies, clubs and other resorts damage the legitimate trade at least 40 per cent annually" (2). Judge McIlvaine, of Washington, Pa., confirmed this: "I venture to say that one-half of the liquor, even in places where retail license places exist, reaches the consumer from the wholesaler, brewer and distiller through drinking clubs, boarding houses, speak-easies and otherwise. . ." Brewers and distillers fill orders solicited by their agents or sent by mail, "without a thought whether the person ordering the liquor is intemperate, a minor or the keeper of a speak-easy" (3).

The saloon-keepers of Indianapolis organized a

Protective League against the brewers. They complained that the brewers canvassed sales from house to house, by mail, and by telephone; that they supplied beer to picnics and parties at ridiculously low prices and sold wholesale or retail to any who had the money. They have agents in practically every dry town and city in Indiana who take orders, delivering through express companies. Regular shipments are made to bootleggers in dry towns and cities in unmarked sugar barrels. In many instances near-beer bottles are put on top for the analyzers (4).

The same story came from Ohio cities. The brewers were actually selling from carts in competition with the saloons, although the carts paid no license. Albert Eisele, head of the Cuyhoga County Dealers' Association, wrote in the Cleveland Free Press for February 12, 1915: "More than 1,500 speak-easies are operating openly in this city. For weeks I have had detectives and state liquor board inspectors quietly investigating in Cleveland. The breweries and distilleries are to blame. They know where they deliver liquor and could stop the traffic." When a license law was under discussion in Ohio, the senate adopted an amendment which would have prohibited brewers selling their beer to illegal dealers. But over night the brewers got busy and the next day the senate killed the amendment (5).

The Brewers Accept an Invitation

If such things happened in wet areas we may imagine the fate of the law in places which had voted out the base business. The Postmaster-General of the Wilson Administration, Mr. Burleson, stated that his department was in receipt of circulars mailed by distillers to postmasters in dry areas in which cash prizes were offered to postmasters issuing the greatest number of money orders in favor of the distillers (U. S. Official Guide, January, 1914). The brewers were not a whit behind. The following letter was sent to a number of Milwaukee brewers:

"Gentlemen: This is one of the dry counties of Michigan, but I think perhaps there would be a chance for a blind pig and I wonder if I start something could I get maybe 75 to 100 dozen quart bottles of beer, maybe not so much, for some months. It must be shipped as furniture or something else, of course. Please let me know soon. Care box . . . ., South Lyon, Mich."

The published replies ran as follows:

From the Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company: "Your letter of the 13th inst. at hand and in reply will say that we should be pleased to furnish you with beer, but it would be impossible for us to bill the beer as furniture or anything else as it is against the law to bill beer as anything but beer. We would

be subject to a fine and it would cost us a great deal of money to get out of it. However, if you are willing to take a chance we will be very glad to furnish you with our goods."

The Pabst Brewing Company: "We beg to enclose our price list. Hoping to be favored with your order we remain, etc."

The Fred Miller Brewing Company: "We should of course like to supply that district with beer. We could ship this beer in casks that have an appearance the same as sugar barrels and we could sell same at $8.75 per cask. We have similar arrangements with a lot of our customers" (6).

More Swineherds and More Pigs

Presidents of Chicago breweries—Weiss, Ortseifen, Tosetti and the rest—were glad to live in the Hyde Park area of the city where drink-selling was prohibited. They were glad also to sell beer to blind pigs peddling it in that area. Mr. Arthur Burrage Farwell, of the Chicago Law and Order League, published the evidence. Ortseifen, the President of McAvoy Brewery, when showed bills to a certain Burgeson, at 4438 Cottage Avenue, is quoted as replying: "I am a manufacturer and I sell to anybody." This particular blind pig returned 17,956 empty bottles to the brewery between July 2 and July 31. Ortseifen promised to protect Burgeson if he got into trouble. Shaw, another blind-

pigger for the McAvoy Brewery, stated that "my understanding was that the brewery company furnished the federal government license and protection from police. I was told not to give any money to detectives or patrolmen, for they could not hurt me." Mr. Farwell printed facsimiles of bills of the Gottfried Brewing Company to a blind-pigger in Hyde Park who was paying a police officer for protection. On one of these bills the brewery office had written, "Please send ten dollars for Rank (a grafting policeman). He telephoned already." The Schlitz Company sold 46,200 bottles in four months to one Hyde Park pig; the Tosetti Brewing Company over 76,000 bottles in eight months to another (7).

In Indiana the brewers signed contracts with their blind-pigs agreeing that, if they were caught, to pay fines and law-costs for them. Brewery attorneys were placed at the disposal of these law-breakers. One Indiana brewery locating blind tigers was controlled in England. At the directors' meeting in London, it was explained that because of county option no dividends could be declared. "However, they were getting a little trade by starting blind pigs in dry communities and were hoping that the law would be repealed."

In the fight to break down prohibition in Maine in 1911, some 500 whiskey soaks were sent into Maine cities (Harper's Weekly, October 21,

1911). These were made drunk and pushed out into the streets to discredit prohibition. Doctor Colvin's "Prohibition in the United States" (p. 216), quotes a letter showing that the same tactics were used in Kansas. St. Louis brewers spent $200,000 in six months in small Kansas towns. The method was to send two or three men into a place, get names of the hardest drinkers, supply them with liquor and then put them on the streets as advertisements of prohibition. "You can readily see the effect this would have on the public. This has been done in most of the small towns of the state and will be kept up regardless of expense."

Down With Sunday Closing

The law which closed the saloons on Sunday, together with all other places of merchandizing, was an especial point of attack by brewers for Sunday, following pay-night, was the free day of the masses and consequently the most profitable day of the week for the saloons, wherever the law could be successfully violated. The brewers themselves had no sentimental notions concerning law-observance, no sense of shame in law-breaking. When the Missouri Sunday-closing law was enforced in St. Louis, Adolphus Busch cabled from Europe that he had intended to build a magnificent hotel in that city, but had given up the idea after the enforcement of the Sunday law (8). At the International Brewers'

congress in the Chicago Coliseum a *Bierstube* which they had opened in the building ran through the week without Sunday intermission in spite of the law of the State of Illinois (9). The minutes of an executive meeting of the U. S. Brewers' Association reported that the liquor interests had won great victories and had the (Illinois) Legislature well in hand. Seven thousand saloons in Chicago were all open in spite of the law. There had been thirteen prosecutions, but no convictions! (10). Indeed, when in 1915 the Sunday-closing law was at last enforced in Chicago a boycott was put by the brewers on the Blackstone Hotel, a leading hotel of the city, because it conformed to the law. Landsberg, a Chicago brewer, wrote Fox: "My reason for mailing you this (the enclosed article 'No Sunday bar at Blackstone') is that most of our colleagues in the East while stopping off at Chicago pick the Blackstone Hotel. . . . In the future the 'kibosh' should be placed upon the Blackstone Hotel by our members and their friends." Which indeed happened (11).

A Compact to Nullify Law

Dr. Felix Adler told at the time the inside story of Mayor Gaynor of New York and the brewers. The latter had contributed liberally to Mr. Gaynor's campaign funds. After election they asked the mayor what he intended to do about the Sunday

law, their message having been carried to him by Herman Ridder, a leader of the Germans in New York City. "The outcome was the famous order of Mayor Gaynor suspending and nullifying two laws of the state—one the provision of the liquor law inhibiting the sale of liquor on Sunday and the other authorizing policemen to make an arrest for a misdemeanor if the misdemeanor (the unlawful sale of liquor) is committed in the presence of the police officer. . . . Gaynor was paying back to the brewers in an indirect way part of the money which they had contributed to his campaign fund. Ridder immediately came out in his paper, the *Staats Zeitung* (morning and evening), praising Mayor Gaynor for his wisdom in an act that was in reality a defiance of statutory law" (12).

In 1916 Judge Landis held court in East St. Louis, Ill., after scenes of disorder that shocked the nation. He said in summing up: "Virtually every East St. Louis case that I have tried here in the last ten days has been hatched in some lawless saloon of this city. Don't you know that it is the law to close these saloons on Sunday?"

The Mayor: "We are just following a custom."

Judge Landis: "Custom nothing! The law requires you to close them up and if you don't do it you violate the law yourself. I see that August A. Busch made a public statement bemoaning the fact that lawless saloonkeepers have been responsible for anti-sa-

loon sentiment. Here are 32 saloons confessedly managed by Mr. Busch's company and they have been steadfastly breaking the law for at least ten years. I want you to make a transcript of the cases I have tried in this court and send it by special delivery to Mr. Busch. I think it will do him good" (13).

The Lawless Brood

In 1889, when the mayor of Cincinnati attempted to close the saloons on Sunday three hundred saloon-keepers pledged themselves to keep open. In Atlantic City the saloon-keepers agreed, while nullifying the state Sunday law, to do it with a degree of decency, and their agreement to break the law in a respectable way, made in writing, was accepted by the city excise commission (14). Fourteen hundred liquor dealers in Newark did business every Sunday with the consent of mayor and police. Drink was sold freely to children, to young girls, to men visibly drunk (15). Guenther, of the Home Brewing Company, wrote in 1910 (March 18): "In response to the inquiry bearing upon your contemplated purchase of a saloon in this city I desire to say that the conditions in the city are very liberal and we feel confident that they will remain so. Both the mayor of Newark and the sheriff were elected by us and hence are our friends. You can depend upon a reasonable amount of protection" (16).

With the grand juries, too, they made friends. When Governor Wilson's jury reform bill was defeated by Nugent and his followers he wrote, "It is perfectly plain where the opposition comes from. It comes from those influences on the outside that wish to control the grand juries of the state because they wish to break the law" (17). The influences referred to were the breweries and the law the Sunday closing law. So we find in the Jersey City Journal of December 5 and 6, 1913, first, a statement of the grand jury that people do not want Sunday closing and, secondly, an account of a dinner given by Emil Peter of the William Peter Brewing Company to the retiring grand jury. This company owned a string of lawless saloons and roadhouses all over Hudson County. It was a custom for years of these Hudson County brewers to entertain retiring grand juries in this way. Present at the dinners were numbers of saloon-keepers known as persistent law-breakers (18).

Owning Saloons Contrary to Law

The law of Maryland provided that no brewer or distiller should engage in the saloon business. In spite of this brewers owned 400 saloons in Baltimore and held long leases on 400 more. It was impossible to get a license in the city without their permission. Their own saloon-keepers were charged a dollar more per barrel than independent dealers

and were mortgaged helots, scarce able to make a living. In Indiana the law designed to prevent brewers from holding saloon licenses was evaded by organizing intermediary realty and loan companies to hold these licenses. In New Jersey 80 per cent of the retail liquor traffic was a brewers' monopoly in restraint of trade, denying to the retailer the right to buy from whom he would upon penalty of immediate confiscation of his property. The law of Pennsylvania governing applications for licenses required the brewers to make oath that they were not financially interested, directly or indirectly, in any retail saloon, yet they controlled the saloons by thousands by mortgaging them. The Missouri law read, "No person, firm or corporation . . . engaged in the manufacture of malt or spirituous liquors . . . shall be licensed to keep a dram-shop." Judge Wallace, of Kansas City, published a list of the number of licenses in that city held by brewers—Muehlbach, 49; Heim, 71; Rochester, 76; Lemp, 13; Schlitz, 17; Val Blatz, 29; Schoenhofen, 28; Pabst, 34; Greentree, 18; Dick, 36; Anheuser-Busch, 32; Goetz, 17—420 in all (19).*

Not a single restriction remained unbroken. On one occasion a conference at Hull House sent out eight investigators to discover the extent to which beer was sold to minors in the ninth, eleventh, and

* See note on page 112.

nineteenth wards of Chicago. Their conclusion was 20,000 violations daily.

Flaunting Law at the Nation's Capital

One would have thought that at the national capital these hyphenates would have been curbed into some sort of regard for law. Far from it. Document 981, Senate Resolutions 522, 1918, is a report of the conduct of the excise board of the District of Columbia. Restrictions of all sorts were treated *à la* Bethman-Hollweg's "scrap of paper." The law forbade saloons within 400 feet of church or school. A list was given of twenty-eight saloons that had planted themselves within the proscribed limits. Another list showed twenty-eight saloons within 300 feet of inhabited alleys. These were forced on colored communities and the excise board, though repeatedly asked to intervene, never did. A colored pastor, Randall, appealed to the board to refuse a license near his church. He said: "Because of this business my church, a small one, had constantly to take up money to buy shoes and to buy groceries for the people living around there. My whole church was against it. But Donahue got his license." Donahue was a wholesaler, retailing contrary to law.

"And does your church still have to put up for people who have been driven to want by the saloon?"

"Yes, sir. I am constantly called to serve those families who are ruined."

The high-placed as well as the humble were brow-beaten by brewer influence. The president of the Washington and Old Dominion Railroad protested against two saloons for which the fire limit had been extended. His long and respectful letter was not even answered. The licenses were granted as the saloons were backed by the two largest breweries in Washington—the Heurich Brewing Company and the National Capitol Brewing Company.

Wholesalers were allowed by the excise board to operate in residential districts contrary to law and the bulk of their trade was retail. On page 224 is given a diagram of a saloon with fences built out in a way to oblige the passer to make a circuit, lengthening the distance from a school. This brought it within the 400 feet limit required by law. One saloon in the national capital, run by a certain O'Connor, was not allowed to be entered by the police because of its political pull, but more arrests were made from the patrol box opposite than at any five patrol boxes in Washington. "We have seen officers bringing out of that saloon women with their throats cut!" (20).

NOTE—In Gary, Indiana, less than twenty of the 198 saloon-keepers owned their own fixtures. The brewers rented the buildings and paid license fees and federal tax. In March, 1911, the Common Council of Gary fixed the price of licenses at $500. In February, 1912, the council (on which were six saloon-keepers) reduced this fee to $200. The city clerk demanded $500. The state board of accounts ordered the city treasurer to appeal the case to the supreme court of Indiana. Under orders from the mayor the city attorney refused to take up the case. The board of accounts then obliged the city treasurer to employ a private attorney and to appeal. The Court decided that the Gary City Council had no power to reduce the fee. The saloon-keepers paid up, but the mayor vetoed payment to the city treasurer's attorney.

The licenses being called in question, a special bill was passed through the legislature to legalize the 169 invalid saloon licenses. It got through by just one vote more than a constitutional majority and a false record of votes at that. Of these 169 saloon-keepers the large majority had their fixtures provided, their places rented and their license paid by Chicago and Milwaukee breweries in violation of the Proctor law. They were operated by wives of foreigners working in the steel mills. (American Issue, Indiana Edition, March 18, 1913.)

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CHAPTER VIII

HOW IT DEGRADED POLITICS

"Every brewery should have a political department and every person making a living by brewing and selling beer should be taking part in the politics of his respective locality."—The Brewers' Journal, 1914: p. 207.

The trial of the Texas State Brewers' Association at Sulphur Springs, Texas, in 1916, has given us the most complete picture of the brewers' political activities extant. There is no reason at all to believe that they were less active in other states. The Association was charged with continuously, from the very date of its incorporation, misusing and abusing the powers, rights, privileges, and franchises conferred upon it. The Texas statutes provided that no corporation should use its properties "directly or indirectly for any other purpose whatever than to accomplish the legitimate object of its creation . . .," nor should it "directly or indirectly contribute or pay . . . to any political party, or to any officer or campaign manager of any political party, or to any person whatsoever, for, or on account of such party, nor to any candidate for any office before or after nominations are made, or

to aid in defraying the expense of any candidate for office" (1). How shamelessly this corporation abused the confidence of the state comes out in the two volumes of evidence entitled "The Breweries and Texas Politics." The defendants in effect pleaded guilty to the charges brought and accepted fines aggregating $281,000 plus $8,000 costs and forfeit of charter.

Breaking Down Electoral Defenses

In order to control the state politically it was necessary to control its electorate, and the more ignorant and venal the electorate the more plastic would it be in the brewers' hands. In Texas the first objective was to break down the electoral defenses —in this case, the poll-tax law. On page 34 is correspondence describing plans to secure a court judgment to the effect that the poll tax was unconstitutional. A law firm was to be subsidized with $2,500 to bring this about. "We feel if this poll tax law could be knocked out," wrote Luedde, agent of Anheuser-Busch, "for the small sum of $2,500 that it would be the best investment that we have made in a long time" (2). While the law stood, its intent was to be thwarted by paying the poll tax of voters, in spite of the express words of the Texas law, "No one shall knowingly give money to a citizen to pay his poll tax." Koehler wrote brewer Adoue: "Those interested in the sale of beer have stopped at nothing . . . to induce such payments (of poll taxes).

Our efforts have not been confined to any one section of the State, either, but have extended from the Panhandle to the Gulf and from El Paso to Orange, Texas" (3).

Weeden, general manager of the Texas Brewing Company, wrote of poll taxes in Fort Worth, that he had matched dollar for dollar (with another representative of the liquor interest). "On this basis we paid out $1,500 and succeeded in getting a little over 1,000 first-class picked men, sorted out" (4). They well knew they were breaking the law. The San Antonio Brewing Association sent word to Andrews: "The law prevents you from paying the poll tax of any one, but there is no law to prevent your loaning a friend the stipulated amount, so get your friends together and . . . we will direct the attention of our State organization to the situation" (5). Luedde again writes: "I have up to the present time paid out $500 to the parties at Temple . . . and provided they need more for the poll tax campaign I will pay it to them." Mitchell writes to the Texas Brewing Company for funds since a great number of railroad employees "will have to be paid in order to get them to vote" (6).

Stealing Elections

Cheaper than buying elections was stealing them. Paget wrote: "Elections were held in three precincts in Jefferson County, . . . and were carried anti because of the action of your Mr. Gary

. . . and we 'fixed' matters so that the election would be declared in our favor. If we had not done so, the elections would have gone pro (hibitionist). . . . It was the cheapest election where so much was involved, I was ever in. . . . Mr. Gary asked me to notify you people about the deal, which I did—the goods were delivered—the three boxes were declared anti by a decent majority" (7). Another "strictly confidential" letter relates to an ex-Judge Felps, who is to declare a prohibition election void. "The amount required is $1,500 if he is successful," and, adds another, "it will be necessary to be very careful" (8).

Misleading Negro Voters

The brewers mobilized masses of ignorant Negro voters in order to make the saloon a permanent institution in Texas cities and towns. They bought the Negro press. "Every colored paper in Texas is carrying our advertisement," and "I now believe that we will get 90 per cent of the negro vote. It required more money than (was expected)" (9). "We have also had our friends before a couple of religious conventions and gradually the colored man is coming to have a proper understanding of his position relative to local option" (10). Abraham Lincoln was made to do duty in fooling the black people all of the time. "Enclosed find copy of a Lincoln circular, of which 100,000 have been distributed in Texas. Forty-five negro churches read

it from the pulpit yesterday in Dallas, and four in Beaumont" (11).

Negro preachers were hired to mislead their people. One, J. B. Rayner, wrote: "I came here last Friday evening and went immediately to the house of the pastor of the Colored Baptist Church and found out he was carrying on a protracted meeting and was drawing all the colored voters to his meeting. Friday night we had a secret caucus with the best of the leaders. I told them how to mark their tickets and who could vote and set in motion some subtle forces which would get the colored voters to the polls." And again, "I have wet a score of dry counties in Texas or kept them from drying. . . . I am now doing all I can to make the colored pastors of your city your political friends" (12).

Sin-Killer Griffin

Another of these black politicians was a certain J. L. Griffin, a Negro preacher known as "Sin-Killer" Griffin, who formed an organization called the "Rescue Association of the United States of America and Africa," incorporated in Texas. "Such charter," says the report, "was secured in fraud upon the State and the public, and the purpose" has never been such as named in its charter, "but to do political work—principally amongst negroes—for the Texas Brewers' Association," which financed it (13).

Brewers' agents went over the state carrying

Lincoln posters and a power of attorney by which one voter could (illegally) appoint another to pay his poll tax (14). They used money right and left. Kaufmann, writing to Wahrmund, says: "The negroes, about 1,500 votes, are well taken care of. Mr. Maier, foreseeing this election, has paid out about $1,000 paying poll taxes for negroes, which are in his safe" (15). Moore wrote Luedde: "Already many evidences exist showing that the 'colored brother' has been pretty well 'greased' . . . I had hoped to make this fight on $3,000, but it looks . . . as if that was not going to be enough." "We have assisted our friends in taking out about 2,000 poll taxes, and we now feel that we are safe as far as McLennan county is concerned" (Winkler to Texas Brewing Company.) In Autrey's special account there were eight entries under "Cash—Negro Baptist convention" (16).

Working the Mexicans

Same story with the Mexicans! "We need money to work the Mexican vote," writes Schunior to the Houston Brewery. However, the Mexicans were rated higher than the Negroes. Littlefield writes Paget: "The Mexican voter should be urged to take out his poll tax, for he can go to the polls in primaries, while the negro can't participate in primaries." When victory perched on German banners by the aid of this near-German vote they were fêted with the German drink. Lindsey wrote to the San

Antonio Brewing Association: "After winning the prohibition election the boys wanted to give a dance to the Mexicans who stayed with us so loyally in the fight, and as the Lone Star (brewery) had sent five kegs for the barbecue, thought you would willingly donate for the dance" (17).

Lobbying in the Texas Legislature

The brewers sought year after year to control the Texas legislature. They kept a record of all candidates for the legislature, numbered and classified as one might sheep. Such lists are given on pages 413-416 of "The Breweries and Texas Politics." They worked to elect their tools; they worked with lobbies and money to direct legislation. "Especial attention should be given to the election of the membership to our next Legislature," writes one. "In this body we should have a certain percentage subject to our command" (18).

This being so they get to work. "We will also endeavor to raise a fund . . . for the purpose . . . of securing a change by the present Legislature of the Sunday law." They had been put to "enormous expense . . . in fighting adverse legislation, prohibition, etc." "We defeated the beer inspection bill, also the bill . . . to make violation of the local option law a felony." "Over a half million dollars have been spent during the past five years to fight vicious legislation and to resist local option elections" (19). Adolphus Busch

of St. Louis advises, in case certain legislation fails, "to open all the water mains leading into your beautiful Capitol and drown the rascals out like a lot of rats. The only available solution of the question in our favor seems to lie in the prevention of the election to the Texas Legislature of such men that incline to prohibition and in the forcible (!) election of liberal members" (20). He goes to work with his corruption funds. "When Mr. Koehler was here a few days ago," he writes, "I agreed that we all pay three cents per barrel on our sales in Texas to defray expenses during the session of the Legislature. It is the intention to change this local option law" (21). And the American Brewing Association writes to the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company of Chicago: "We have already a delegation in Austin lobbying against the passage of such bills that are detrimental to our business. . . . Our expenses in these matters are considerable, and if you feel inclined to contribute towards the educational fund it would be most thankfully accepted" (22). In the legislature they mobilized their group for action. "It is just one of these bills where we have to master all our forces very quietly and call her up on a certain day and pass it without even letting it come to debate." The railroad lobbies were not adverse to co-operating with the brewers for the sake of favors returned. "We have all the good help on the part of the railroads," writes a brewer's lobbyist (23).

Brewers and Election Frauds

The Roberts election-frauds trials of 1914-15 exhibited the sinister power of the brewers in the political life of Indiana. Roberts was mayor of Terre Haute and political ally of Crawford Fairbanks, owner of the Terre Haute brewery and the richest man in the state. The Roberts-Fairbanks gangsters had been guilty of election fraud, violence at the polls, intimidation, bribery, and shooting. The outraged citizenry collected evidence and put Roberts on trial. But the judge, after going to Indianapolis to see Fairbanks, dismissed the jury and quashed most of the cases. The Indianapolis News for December 14, 1914, intimated that Judge Fortune was under financial obligation to the Wabash Realty and Loan Company, the holding company of Fairbanks' Terre Haute Brewing Company. The underworld packed the court, jurors were intimidated and Roberts acquitted.

He was, however, put on trial again; this time in the Federal court, for levying assessments on gambling houses, saloons and dance-halls, for mobilizing desperadoes at the polls, and for false registration of voters. In spite of the efforts of wet Congressman Stanley of Kentucky, who had been retained to clear him, he was landed in Leavenworth penitentiary. It is worth remembering that Roberts had been slated by the machine for the governorship of Indiana (24).

The Democratic headquarters in Terre Haute, popularly called "The House of a Thousand Crimes," was the property of brewer Fairbanks. The heelers foregathered in Jim Geraughty's Blue Front Saloon. From these two centers the city was run politically. Terre Haute was described as having "the largest red-light district of any city of its size in the world." These resorts and the saloons were under the protection of the brewery machine and subject to its financial assessments for political ends.

In the Terre Haute trial twenty-five members of the city administration were indicted—mayor, city engineer, president of the board of works, city sealer, city comptroller, superintendent of streets, paving inspector, city judge—and also forty-five saloon-keepers and gamblers. Sluggers, gun-men, tenderloin loafers figured in the trial, and back of the entire Catilinian contingent was the Terre Haute brewery, the largest in Indiana, running some 800 saloons in practical violation of the law which forbade breweries controlling such property. John L. Beggs, a partner of Fairbanks in the Terre Haute brewery, together with Tom Taggart, Irish politician, United States Senator, and, with Fairbanks, owner of the French Lick casino, were bondsmen of Roberts, and when Roberts was finally safely lodged in Leavenworth, the loyal Beggs telegraphed: "Will do all I can. Am with you first, last, and always" (25).

Judge Anderson, in sentencing, had said that the evidence showed that the saloons were the centers of nearly all the corruption in the election at Terre Haute. The saloons, however, were but tentacles—the octopus was the brewery controlling them. Fairbanks, the beer king of Terre Haute, is said to have retained saloon-keepers according to their political skill as heelers. His brewery owned the White Swan Distillery, which supplied his saloons with whisky and ran its own cigar factories for the supply of its 800 drink shops.

Terre Haute influence was powerful in the state capital. Mayor Bell of Indianapolis was attorney for Crawford Fairbanks. The headquarters of the wealthier brewery politicians of Indianapolis, the Denison House, was owned by Fairbanks and his Indianapolis agent, Maurice Donnelly. The breweries in Bookwalter's and Shank Adams' time controlled the police of Indianapolis. Every appointment to the force is said to have been OK'd for the Republicans by an Indianapolis brewery; for the Democrats by Donnelly. These two breweries had the profitable monopoly of beer sale in the brothels. If such sold others' beer they were immmediately raided by the police.

Thirty-one of the Terre Haute election frauders were released from jail on payment of costs. A brewery lobbyist made the payment. "Thanks to the Terre Haute Brewery we are out," said Elthington to a reporter. One year after their convic-

tion they held a memorial dinner at Clark's saloon, Cherry Street, Terre Haute.

In Indianapolis Also

The case of Mayor Bell of Indianapolis paralleled that of Mayor Roberts of Terre Haute. Bell was under retainer of the State Brewers' Association. Together with Perrott, chief of police, and Taggart, national Democratic committeeman, he was, in 1915, indicted for conspiracy. Mr. Rucker, the prosecuting attorney, made clear how "in the very teeth of the corrupt practices act, the Taggart machine solicited and received money from the brewers and saloon-keepers" (26). Columns of evidence were adduced proving that Indianapolis saloon-keepers were forced to contribute to Democratic campaign funds, payment being made to employees of the city. Their compensation was permission to sell unlawfully on Sundays, holidays, and after prescribed hours. It was even shown that the police drove customers out of saloons whose keepers had not paid these assessments and worked for the Democrats; also that bribery had been common, violence used at the polls, voting machines tampered with, and colored Republicans intimidated. Perrott was sent to Leavenworth. The higher-ups escaped.

In Evansville, also, slush funds were raised from saloon-keepers, gamblers, and dive-keepers, and used in buying votes (27). Here the Blue Goose

saloon was the center of corruption. An Evansville brewery was charged with contributing cash to these funds in violation of law; also with printing tickets, each calling for the delivery of a barrel of beer—so-called "election booze." The mayor of Gary was indicted for similar reasons. In Muncie, as in Indianapolis and Evansville, saloon-keepers and prostitutes were forced to finance the Democratic machine, and brewery influence was dominant. The mayor of Muncie was intimate with a gambler named Crabbs, in partnership with whom he was charged with running a blind tiger. Crabbs was the Muncie agent of the Berghoff brewery, the property of Steve Fleming, a Democratic national committeeman. Most of the blind tigers were required to take Berghoff's beer and the places buying that brand were said to have been protected by the city administration (28). This protection was paid for by assessments collected by Crabbs. Such was "the system."

State Corruption Contaminates National Politics

The ominous thing was that all these Indiana cities—Terre Haute, Indianapolis, Bloomington, Muncie, Newcastle, Evansville, Gary—rotten in a common political corruption—were welded together by connecting political links (29). Thus Mayor Bunch of Muncie was nominated for his position with the assistance of the Democratic state machine and the brewery interests of the state. The city

administration of Muncie was thereby associated politically with the similarly-minded administrations of other Indiana cities. The interests of the nation were also wounded by these conditions in Indiana cities. At the St. Louis Democratic convention in 1916 there appeared among the national committeemen from Indiana—Edward Hoffman of the Fort Wayne brewery; Steve Fleming, president of the Indiana Brewers' Association, member of the resolutions committee; Joseph E. Bell, brewery attorney and wide-open mayor, member of the credentials committee; Mayor Bossy of Evansville, member of the rules committee; and Tom Taggart, all-round political *regisseur* who, as we have seen, was brewer Fairbanks' partner. Taggart in 1904 was chairman of the national Democratic committee, and it was he who later placed Thomas R. Marshall in the vice-presidential chair. Marshall knew his master's voice. The attorney-general during Governor Hanly's administration brought suit against Taggart's French Lick Hotel to dissolve the corporation. Marshall, who succeeded Hanly as governor, directed his attorney-general to dismiss these suits (30). Marshall was also the chief influence in repealing the county option law which brought saloons back into 45 counties of Indiana and ran the Home Brewery stock up from 114 to 205; also in the enactment of the Model License Law which was the joint concoction of himself and brewer Fleming. It was this Steve Fleming who put Marshall in nom-

ination for the governorship of Indiana and, at the Baltimore Convention, Marshall was nominated as Woodrow Wilson's running-mate by the same influence in compensation for the defeat of Champ Clark, the *beau ideal* of the Murphys, Sullivans, Ryans, and others in the Tammany-Wall Street-Brewery combination of the Baltimore presidential convention.

The Illinois Jack Pot

So, too, in the neighboring state of Illinois. The "Lorimer jack pot" was not, Judge Gemmill assured me, of Lorimer's devising. The brewers had collected a large amount to control legislation at Springfield and the choice of Lorimer instead of Hopkins was but an incident in the general campaign. In other words, the brewers were the corruptionists of the legislature for Lorimer. How largely other interests were involved is not altogether clear. Mr. Hinman (Senatorial Investigation of the Lorimer Case, page 206), said: "The common report was that a considerable part of the money in that jack pot came from the interests which, in Illinois, have their principal headquarters in Peoria."

Q. "What is that interest?"

A. "The liquor interest."

Q. (p. 210.) "You say common report connected the liquor interests with the jack-pot fund?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "Did common report connect any other interest with the jack pot?"

A. "None that I recollect specifically."

On page 120, Governor Deneen asks: "At the time of the passage of the local option measure were the liquor interests very active in Illinois?"

A. "Very."

Q. "Was the jack pot in evidence at that time?"

A. "I think so. The general impression is that it was."

Professor Merriam, of the University of Chicago, who was present, told me at the time that whenever the investigation started in the direction of the brewers it always veered!

Corrupting the Pennsylvania Judiciary

Pennsylvania brewers, according to the Memorandum for the court in the case of the U. S. vs. the U. S. Brewers' Association, "undertook through their State Association, to control the nomination and election of practically every public officer elected within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania from governor down, including Members of Congress and U. S. Senators." The lists were made up in conference between representatives of the Brewers' Association and certain politicians. Such a conference is described in the Overman Committee testimony.

Major Humes: "And that in making the selection it was agreed that certain men from both parties in certain districts should be supported?"

Gardiner: "O, well, I think that was always the case" (31).

Among these candidates were presumably the judges of quarter sessions. The Brooks High-License law was devised to forestall the passage of a prohibition amendment in 1889. The theoreticians insisted that, if to the judges were assigned the task of issuing and renewing licenses, abuses prevailing under the old system would largely disappear. Vain hope! After years of bitter experience the Pennsylvania State Bar Association, at its annual meeting at Cape May, denounced in the most emphatic terms the imposition of this duty upon the quarter-session judges. "It has been and will continue to be a most destructive agency, and the people of Pennsylvania could have done nothing to more effectually undermine the integrity of their courts . . . judges are selected not on the basis of their personal and professional honor, legal knowledge, experience and judicial temperament, but upon the question as to how they stand upon the liquor question. Could it be possible to devise a system which would more inevitably lay open to attack the independence and the integrity of our judiciary?" (32).

In 1915, in 25 counties where judicial elections were called, the wets and drys were lined up in 19. In Judge VanSwearingen's campaign (1907), according to his own statement, the nomination cost him $21,541.93; the election, $5,708.78. His campaign manager, John R. Byrne, filed an additional

expense account of $25,275, making a total of $52,525.71 (33).

Forcing Saloons on Unwilling Towns

Licenses were often forced by wet judges on places opposed to saloons. The following is a list of eleven towns with the ratio of remonstrants to petitioners. In spite of the overwhelmingly dry sentiment licenses were granted in all these places (34).

Place	*County*	*Petitioners*	*Remonstrants*
Darby	Delaware	300	1,400
Wilkes-Barre	Luzerne	19	750
Beech Creek	Clinton	30	232
Bendersville	Adams	23	280
Perryopolis	Fayette	139	878
Delta	York	18	336
Coleraine	Lancaster	68	426
Lititz	Lancaster	18	430
Cochranton	Crawford	32	238
Honeybrook	Chester	16	226
Tyrone	Blair	87	2,375

A Beaver County judge went into office pledged to the temperance side. In 1914 remonstrances were filed against each wholesale applicant in the county —the names of 13,000 residents being attached. The signers to the applications averaged less than one-tenth of that number. One license with but a handful of names on its petition was granted though the remonstrants numbered thirty-three times as many! All nine licenses were allowed by the court. Before this judge was elected the Pittsburgh Brew-

ing Company sold much beer in Beaver County and its signs were commonly on the front of saloons. After the new judicial administration began these signs came down and those of the Independent Brewing Company took their place (35). This brewery was the property of Jim Mulvihill, a Pittsburgh politician, who is said to have dictated to Penrose the nomination of John K. Tener to the governorship of Pennsylvania in 1910. Judge McConnell of Westmoreland County was a political coworker of Mulvihill.

In Jefferson County, Judge Reed, known as a wet who had issued 43 licenses, was replaced by Judge Corbet, a dry. Reed, after his descent from the bench appeared before Judge Corbet as legal representative of applicants for licenses (36). Judge Criswell, of Venango County, declared that "the disposition of license applications is the most distracting duty which the bench has to perform" (37). In Cambria County, Judge O'Connor was presiding judge and licenses were distributed with lavish recklessness. This license court business brought fat pickings to wet lawyers, one of whom was brother of the judge. The Philadelphia North American showed how a change of politics in the Cambria Court bench instantly worked a change of politics in the attorneys employed by the liquor men to secure their licenses. In 1911 nearly all were Republicans; in the following year Democrats (38).

Delta, York County, had two licenses. The petition for continuance showed but 41 names against 345 protestants. Three hundred citizens chartered a special train and came to court to oppose. Judges Wanner and Ross heard the unquestionable evidence of law violation and then announced that if these applicants would arrange for a transfer of their licenses within twenty days the licenses would be granted to two others. The hotels licensed were old shells, but Theodore Helb, the millionaire brewery boss of York County, held mortgages on them of $19,975, which would simply evanesce if the licenses lapsed (39). Judge Davis declared that "it would be an outrage to put a saloon into a residential section like that (a part of West Philadelphia)" In October, 1916, he granted a license to Michael Burke, who had applied and been refused thirteen times. Burke was a prominent cog in the Philadelphia political machine. Within three squares of this saloon, 3,493 residents remonstrated and but 364 favored the license. In Germantown remonstrances against 51 saloons were filed. Judges Barratt and Davis refused to consider them. Renewals should be granted "unless violation of law is proven." This decision flew in the face of the Brooks law which provided that the court of quarter sessions should refuse licenses if the ratio of remonstrances seemed to demand it and if the licenses were not necessary for the accommodation of the public (40).

Penrose and the Brewers

President Roosevelt was a brave man, and it was a brave thing for him to say in Pittsburgh, "It is of vital consequence to the future well-being of our people to drive from public life all men whose political activities in state and nation alike have been such as those of Senator Penrose." Still braver would it have been had he said, what he must have well known, that back of Senator Penrose were the brewers. "Senator Penrose, the leader of the Republican party," said the Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, "is the mere conduit through which these great interests have operated all these years, for the real powers behind the Penrose machine in Pennsylvania have been the triumvirate . . . the protected tariff interests, the railroad interests, and the organized liquor traffic. . . . The steps to which they have gone to secretly control government by the secret ownership and control of political organization has been almost beyond belief. The extent to which they have gone to befoul public opinion, almost at its very sources, in the newspapers of the country secretly has been almost beyond comprehension by the American citizens. If the liquor traffic . . . comes out in the open and says, 'We are for this man and against the other,' . . . the public can take care of itself. But it is the secret character of their attack upon the people that is to be condemned" (41).

I have it from a party floor leader of the Pennsylvania House that for many years the liquor interests and the steel interests have alternated in the naming of the gubernatorial candidate of the dominant party. This alliance of the brewers with legitimate big business strengthened their position enormously. The Philadelphia North American of March 1, 1916, wrote: "Repeatedly it has been alleged that ten checks aggregating $420,000 were paid two days prior to the election which sent Penrose back to the Senate." Did the brewers contribute to this fund? We do not know. It was, as we have seen, their custom to destroy their check-stubs every month to save room in their desk-drawers. But when on a certain morning Penrose was explaining in the United States Senate why he had taken $25,000 from the Standard Oil Company, the Pittsburgh Leader telegraphed him, "While you are doing this will you explain to the people of Pennsylvania what you did with the funds contributed by the liquor and corporate interests in the different campaigns of the state?"

And while Penrose was looking after the interests of the financial magnates—malt and steel—his underlings were entraining the voting recruits. The Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association had a committee in the mining regions to naturalize foreigners.

Major Humes: "So as to increase their voting power?"

Brewer Gardiner: "Yes, sir."

Humes: "And you figured you could make two or three hundred thousand votes in that way?"

Gardiner: "Yes. Jim (Mulvihill) said we would do better than that, I think" (42).

The Brewers and Interlocking Directorates

New Jersey's Legislature (at least the 137th) was said to have been controlled by four brewers—Smith, Nugent, Hinchcliffe, and Collins (43). Here, too, the brewery power was triply powerful through its intimate relations with banks, insurance corporations, public service corporations, etc. The following table of interlocking directorates in which Newark brewers participated gives a clear picture of the situation.

Union National Bank. *Directors:*

Gottfried Krueger, President of the Gottfried Krueger Brewing Co.

Joseph H. Byrne, Treasurer of Manufacturers and Merchants' Assn.; publicity agent of the New Jersey State Brewers' Assn.

Thomas H. McCarter, President of Public Service Corporation of New Jersey.

Uzal H. McCarter, Pres. of Fidelity Trust Co.

Forest F. Dryden, President of Prudential Insurance Co.

Christian Feigenspan, President of Feigenspan Brewery.

Franklin Savings Institution. *Director:*
George W. Jagle, President of Manufacturers and Merchants' Assn. (a brewery organization).
German Savings Bank. *Directors:*
G. Krueger, of Krueger Brewing Co.
C. Feigenspan, Feigenspan Brewing Co.
Gustav A. Wiedenmeyer, Vice-President of Wiedenmeyer Brewery.
Am. F. Hoffmann, President of Brewers & Bottlers' Supply Co.
J. H. Byrne, of Manufacturers and Merchants' Assn.
Federal Trust Co. *Directors:*
C. W. Feigenspan, President of Feigenspan Brewery.
Peter Hauck, Jr., Pres. of Home Brewing Co.
Arthur C. Hensler, Treasurer of Hensler Brewing Co.
W. C. Krueger, of G. Krueger Brewing Co.
Fidelity Trust Co. *Director:*
John L. Kuser, of People's Brewing Co., Trenton.
Clinton Trust Co. *Director:*
Christopher Blank, saloon-keeper.
Washington Trust Co. *Director:*
Edwin F. Feigenspan, of Feigenspan Brewery.

"The Tub of Blood," Newark's tough district, was the stronghold of the Smith-Nugent-Hausling combination. When Senator James Smith failed, his paper was found to be endorsed by two promi-

nent brewers, Peter Hauck and Gottfried Krueger. James R. Nugent, political boss, was Smith's nephew. Smith was chief owner of the Newark Star and Newark Eagle, and president of the Federal Trust Company, on the board of directors of which, as we have seen, were brewers Krueger, Hauck, and Feigenspan. Feigenspan was the financial good angel of the Newark Ledger. It was an interlocking of brewers, bosses, financial interests and heelers. On one occasion when a Feigenspan saloon was prosecuted, the defense was conducted by a former attorney-general of New Jersey and the most prominent corporation lawyer in the state, a man especially close to the Public Service Corporation and the Fidelity Trust Company (44).

In a Massachusetts Mill City

In 1911, Mr. F. T. Fuller published in "Boston Common" articles which threw a shaft of light upon the brewers' activities in a typical New England city. New Bedford was under the heel of the malt-lords, but "New Bedford does not by any means stand alone or differ except in degree from many other polluted centers of political corruption in the state" (45). Here as elsewhere the brewers were in political association with the magnates of business and the alliance controlled the Republican party. The saloon-keepers, on the other hand, were powerful in the Democratic and labor organizations. The history of the mayoralty was for many

years a history of contest between two brewers, Joseph Dawson and James Smith, for the control of the 74 saloons of the city. Dawson finally won (46). He was a big gun in the Republican city committee and largest local contributor to party funds. His balance at the Mechanics National Bank, a bank associated with Crapo, Clifford and Prescott (lawyers powerful in New Bedford politics) was a quarter of a million. Mayor Ashley, his political ally, was elected mayor fourteen times in seventeen years.

"Always the chief bone of contention and the main source of the corruption fund, has been the liquor traffic, the two-fold issue being which brewer should obtain for the saloons acting as his dispensing agents the larger proportion of the legally limited number of licenses; and how far the state laws forbidding Sunday selling and regulating week-day sale, and also those relating to prize-fighting, gambling, and prostitution, should be nullified in the interests of increased sales of intoxicating liquors" (47).

At one time, Mr. Fuller tells us, the Narragansett Brewery of Providence entered the auction for New Bedford, offering $20,000 to buy the election from Ashley and Dawson, which offer it later raised to $50,000, stipulating only a fair deal in the distribution of the next year's licenses. Its offer was refused (48). Mr. Wood, editor of the New Bedford Times, stated publicly and repeatedly, both in

his paper and in legislative investigations, that he had seen the books kept by the vote-buying gang containing about 4,000 names of purchasable voters. Ex-Mayor Thompson confirmed this estimate in the Boston American, February 26, 1911: "I should say about one third of our total registration can be bought by the highest bidder." After the election, money was collected from 74 licensed liquor-dealers and seven clubs, a total of some $35,000. *Plunderbund* politics were the order of the day. Mill-owners secured favors in water rates, street construction, etc. "The man chiefly responsible for the corruption of the franchise in New Bedford was Mr. Dawson," the victor brewer in the electoral contest (48).

The higher-ups in the Republican machine of Massachusetts, including the attorney-general of the state, although asked to intervene, never did in any effective way. The brewery stench was on their clothing, too. In 1911, Henry Cabot Lodge was seeking re-election to the United States Senate. The vote was very close and two Democrats in the Massachusetts State Senate, Michael J. Murray and P. F. Curley, were induced to vote for Lodge. Both were liquor-dealers holding their valuable licenses by grace of License Commissioner Emery, a Republican (49). The Harvard "scholar in politics" was, in the United States Senate, as consistent a friend of the alcohol interests as Mr. A. J. Balfour of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the British Parlia-

ment. When the question of war prohibition was before the Senate, Mr. Lodge told us that if the breweries were shut down it would "affect the entire milk supply of my state, a crowded industrial state with thousands and thousands of children (*i e.*, because cows would henceforth be unable to get brewery slop for feed). Do you realize also that the closing of the breweries is going to reduce the supply of yeast in the country to the extent of 40% so that you are likely to have the price of bread doubled?" (50).

Mole Work in Kansas and Florida

Similar operations in other states were traceable to the brewers. In the brewers' correspondence we find the Kansas City breweries and Val Blatz of Milwaukee discussing with Andreae the feasibility of running Billard for the governorship of Kansas. We suspected as much at the time. They say that 33 years have passed since the prohibition amendment was adopted, that there are now large districts of the state populated with foreigners, and that the time is favorable for breaking into the state (51). Buckmann, an agent in Florida, appears in the brewers' correspondence on page 1056 of the Overman Report. He is certain of the situation. "I have about decided on a president for the Senate (of Florida), and have written to-day to have him come and see me to see how he lines up. These things have all got to be determined beforehand.

While the Speaker of the House is not so essential and may be difficult, that also must be attended to. In addition to that I have organized each county or am doing so as fast as I can."

Of the sinister liquor interests of Kentucky, Senator Beckham said in 1914:

"But there is a trust in Kentucky whose political power extends like a pall over the entire state, and holds in its strong grasp many politicians who dare not provoke its enmity or wrath. Its pernicious activity has appeared in nearly every primary convention and legislative assembly held in Kentucky for many years. It has sought to dominate the politics of the state in every particular, and it has fought to prevent any limitations upon its market or any restriction upon its business. . . . It never ceases in its efforts to control the legislatures, the courts, and the executive officers of the state. It demands that it shall have the senators and as many as possible of the congressmen, from this state, in the federal Congress. The Steel Trust has never exercised more power in Pennsylvania than has the liquor trust in Kentucky" (52).

"Is it not a fact," asked Mr. Humes of Mr. McDermott, organizer of the United States Brewers' Association, "that in practically every State you have not only fought on the . . . wet-or-dry question, but you have also made your fights for individual candidates?"

McDermott: "Yes" (53).

Retaining Politicians

When the New Hampshire prohibition law was repealed (1903), Senator Gallinger insisted that money had been used. "This is an indictment," he went on, "that will lie in one shape or another against every legislature in the country. There are some men who can be corrupted and the liquor men know how to corrupt them" (54). More men in public office unquestionably were under retainer to the brewers than we shall ever know. "The Secretary of State of Maine, Cyrus Davis, is in charge of our interests there and reports that enough men will be elected this fall to the legislature to resubmit the question of prohibition" (O. R., p. 1030, Confidential Report). One wonders if judges in other states were on the bargain counter as they seemed to have been in Texas, according to the Texas brewers' correspondence. Kirchner of the San Antonio Brewing Association writes: "We are trying to get Judge Dean to run as Senator, and I believe he will go . . . I feel quite sure it will take at least $3,000" (55). Judge Sherrell and Mr. Gresham were hired to do political work for the brewers. The salaries were arranged by the Dallas Brewery, which sent exchange for the above amounts. *"This will do away with the handling of private checks"* (56). After mentioning that Judge Ballew had informed him that, if he were financially able to make the race for the legislature, he would

do so, brewer Adoue comments significantly, this "may be important information for the managers of high-grade politics" (57). Paget mentions raising a fund to secure Judge Briggs, Judge Mayberry, and others for anti-prohibition work (58). When one expressed his astonishment at the large remittance made to Wahrmund the latter explained that this represented "items to take care of an account of meeting friends to make the race for the Senate and House." So too at the time of the Pittsburgh investigation mention was made of a million as passing through the Philadelphia bank of which Schmidt, the president of the United States Brewers' Association, was president. This went out in less than 20 checks, and it is said that the government has positive evidence that the money was used for political purposes (59).

Fighting the Referendum

The Connecticut legislature was, in 1911, considering laws which would strengthen the prosecution of liquor law violators and reduce the number of saloons to one to a thousand population. Brewers in New York and New Jersey, among them Feigenspan, raised a fund to defeat the proposal (the names of the subscribers are given in the Overman Report, page 1027). Feigenspan wrote to Fox of the lobbyists, Messrs. FitzGerald and Walsh, employed in the Connecticut State Capitol: "Considering the work performed . . . we think their

bill of $3,000.00, for services rendered, very reasonable." Doyle said to the brewers in their executive session: "If you are living in liberal states which have not the initiative and referendum and have not female suffrage, I want to implore you to defeat those two things at all hazards" (60). In Minnesota the liquor interests defeated an initiative and referendum bill. "The brewers fashioned the fight from inception to finish," says Lynn Haynes. "I have never seen a more compact and perfectly operated machine. In order to ridicule the idea they re-printed alleged South Dakota and Oregon ballots the size of a newspaper" (61). "I do not want you to be shocked," writes a brewer's agent from Montana, "when I tell you—the brewers out there defeated the partial Sunday closing bill" (62).

"I have to listen to the wrong-doings of every State Legislature in the country," wrote brewer Adolphus Busch to Cetti. "This will give you some idea of my troubles, and the restless days and nights I spend" (63).

The report of the Iowa State Brewers' Association's campaign in 1913 read in part as follows: "The general scheme was to send representatives into every county and legislative district to induce persons of liberal persuasion to become candidates for the legislature on both political tickets if possible; or on either ticket if both could not be obtained. . . . We engaged the services of a large number of representatives to cover the state

of Iowa, and there was scarcely a county in which some representative of ours was not busy. After . . . nominations were made, secret agents were sent into the state of Iowa to make secret investigation of the attitude of the different candidates in order that our own field men might be checked up in their reports on the attitude of these different candidates. . . . During the campaign . . . no efforts and no money were spared in furthering the interests of those who were our friends. . . . We were not infrequently conducting the entire campaign through friends of the candidate . . . without the knowledge of the candidate" (64).

Political Intermeddling Everywhere

According to their own reports, the brewers had a finger in almost every political pie. "The election of Harmon (governor of Ohio) was the result of months of organized effort on our part. We assisted in every possible way to elect Mr. Patterson (governor of Tennessee) which was accomplished. The defeat of ex-Governor Beckham for the United States Senate (from Kentucky) was one of our greatest victories for the year. We were instrumental in forming the Southern Intelligence Bureau to look after elections in all southern states. We defeated Hoke Smith (for the United States Senate) in Georgia. We defeated prohibition candidates for United States senator and governor in Florida. In Massachusetts our bureau took entire

charge of campaign in detail, expenses being paid by the three largest breweries in the state, and increased the vote in Boston by 27,000 votes. In Utah we feel safe because of work with labor unions. In the advertising campaigns which have been carried on for political purposes in Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, and Michigan we furnished the service of three journalists" (65). In Kentucky "we nominated sixty legislators out of one hundred; twenty-four, and it may be twenty-eight, senators out of thirty-eight" (66). And so on indefinitely! "The statement with regard to the elections of November 8, 1910, which has gone out to our members indicates the extent of the recent work. There were 27 state campaigns in which we were interested and we won substantial victories in all except one. Surely this speaks for itself" (67).

Logrolling

A chapter might be written on wet logrolling in legislatures. "We have also received the respective notice from our (!) railroads here," writes a Texas wet, "and have immediately put ourselves in communication with the different members of our association and notified all our customers along the line to immediately enter a protest against such a bill to their representative at Austin." And, again, "As the express and railroad companies will be affected by the bill" it may be "advisable to act together" (68). And while the brewers logrolled

with the corporations to the common profit of both, liquor men in legislatures showed their venom at times by antagonizing bills for the public welfare if these happened to be introduced by drys. Thus in the Ohio legislature a bill to abolish the filthy, sluggish Cincinnati Canal was defeated by the liquor crowd because it was sponsored by Representative Bruce, who had voted against a liquor bill. Another bill gave permission to fourteen counties in the north-eastern part of the state to appropriate money for building a ship canal from Cleveland to Pittsburgh. Popular sentiment was all one way, but the bill was killed by wets because Representative Kilpatrick, who introduced it, was dry (69).

Beer's Victories in Congress

The brewers' lobbies in Washington, according to their own account, were equally successful. The minutes of the United States Brewers' Association reported in 1910, "During the last two sessions in Congress over 200 bills adverse to our interest have been introduced. . . . Only one measure affecting our interests has passed Congress in this period, and that went through with our assent. You can readily imagine what this has meant in winning and keeping friends in the Congressional Districts. It is also literally true that Congress has been kept from doubling the tax on beer by our unaided efforts. These, of course, are *confidential matters.*" Again, Fox wrote: "The defeat of the seventy-nine

bills in Congress during the past session is, in a great measure, due to our efforts." Of the 1914 congressional committee handling the question of taxes on beer he says, "that our interests in connection with the revenue tax, are in the strongest and friendliest hands that could possibly be imagined, and that the matter is being discussed with as much care and consideration as if the Committee was composed of brewers themselves!" (70).

The Brewers at National Conventions

These were the days of Speaker Cannon, chairman of the judiciary committee, then known as a morgue for progressive legislation. "Speaker Cannon has been very friendly . . . and has successfully kept all such bills in the committee," wrote the watchful Mr. Fox. There was at this time a National Association of Manufacturers, which seems to have been co-worker in the brewers' political schemes. The president of the association wrote to the San Antonio Brewery, June 30, 1908: "The story of our activity at the National Republican Convention in Chicago marks a new epoch in the political history of the United States. . . . I wish you could have viewed with me the power of our Association as demonstrated in Chicago" (71).

The brewers wanted above all to head off legislation prohibiting interstate shipment of beer. Mr. Ruppert, in his annual report of the political activ-

ities of the United States Brewers' Association during the year said: "We have been guarding your interests at Washington continually, and but for our activity the beer tax would now be $2.00 a barrel, *and the shipment of beer from State to State would be prohibited. With this accomplished, all Local Option areas would soon be made 'dry,' and as far as beer is concerned Prohibition would become really effective*" (72). For thirty years this legislation had been staved off.

On the other hand the politicians wanted finance for their campaigns. The Baltimore Convention nominated Woodrow Wilson to please Bryan and the idealists. It turned down Governor Burke of North Dakota, a dry, and nominated Marshall, the brewers' choice, for vice-president, not improbably to entice campaign funds from the brewers' pockets. "This question" (the liquor question), said brewer Andreae, "in its political aspect is one of the main sources from which the politician derives his sinews of war in politics. And why? Because we brewers supply them." McDermott, Andreae's co-worker, was at this Baltimore Convention in 1908 lining up, as he tells us, Roger Sullivan, Tom Taggart, Ollie James and other wets to defeat a resolution that would aid law-enforcement (73). He referred, of course, to legislation against interstate shipment of liquor.

Did this factor enter into consideration at the Republican Convention of the same year? It has

been so alleged (74). Certainly brewery influence was strong in the administration that followed.

Exacting Political Pledges

There is evidence to show that the brewers quite generally demanded written pledges in their favor from candidates to political office. When the correspondence of the United States Brewers' Association was in the hands of the federal authorities in Pittsburgh the writer asked a Senator in the Senatorial Office Building, Washington, to telephone to Mr. Gregory, then Attorney-General, for permission to examine the correspondence. The answer which came back was, "Senator, you don't know what you are asking for. If that correspondence were opened up it would ruin more reputations than anything that ever happened in the United States." Just what he had in mind he did not specify, but we are perhaps safe in guessing that he referred to the written pledges which had been exacted by the brewers from men in public life to support certain legislation and to oppose other legislation in case of election. This material, we were told at the time, was not allowed out by President Wilson when the rest of the brewers' correspondence was brought to daylight. The country was at war and he did not care to distract its attention from the main matter at issue. So the reputations were never ruined.

The Senate's subpœna for the brewers' corre-

spondence read: "Bring with you any papers or letters in your possession which relate to the pledges exacted from or received from candidates to office by said United States Brewers' Association or any individual brewing companies." A statement of the Senatorial Committee affirmed its expectation that the evidence would prove,

"that the United States Brewers' Association and individual brewers have contributed large sums of money in political campaigns and exacted pledges of support in return for such financial help. The evidence of this will be found in the United States District Attorney's office in Pittsburgh, Pa., in the Attorney-General's office in Texas, and from many other sources."

Finally the Senate resolution asking for this investigation spoke of the requiring of pledges for political support in return for financial help. "In order to control legislation in state and nation they have exacted pledges from candidates to office including Congressmen and United States Senators before election, *such pledges being on file*. . . ."

So the brewers destroyed their check-stubs but kept the written promises of the politicians to do their bidding.

Senator Carmack of Tennessee, who was finally murdered by the wets, may have referred to this when he said: "So far as I am concerned I am weary of a condition of things where the man whose business it is to make the law must hold office by

consent of the man whose business it is to break the law."

Various Examples

From the brewers themselves comes evidence of the prevalence of this practice. At an executive meeting Mr. Gibson declared it to be "the consensus of opinion that the pledge of a congressman was not worth much. A great many cases were instanced where congressmen were absolutely pledged to vote against the Webb-Kenyon Bill, but when pressure was brought to bear from the other side they disregarded their pledges entirely and voted for it" (75). The United Societies of Chicago circulated thousands of copies of a photographed pledge from Mayor Thompson promising not to enforce the Illinois Sunday closing law in Chicago and to allow special bar permits until 3 A. M. (76). Mr. Lewis, when running for governor of Wisconsin, declared: "Some things which the railroads never dared to do in politics the brewers now do. The railroads, in their boldest days, never dared to exact a written pledge of a member of the legislature and to demand of him an oath of allegiance to the railroad interests. Yet the brewers do this very thing" (77). Governor Hanly of Indiana described in the Indianapolis Inquirer his own experience.

"When the writer of this editorial was a candidate for the nomination of governor of the State of Indiana it was not the distilling interests of the

state, but the brewers who sought to wring from him a promise that in consideration of his nomination he would, if elected, permit no temperance legislation during his term. It was the brewing interests of Indiana and not the distillers who sought on the eve of election after his nomination, in spite of their opposition, to extort a like promise as the price of his election. It was the president of the Indiana State Brewers' Association that walked into the governor's office in Indianapolis and arrogantly announced that he had come to say to the governor that a township and ward remonstrance law which the governor had recommended to the general assembly for enactment could not be passed by the legislature" (78).

Some Brewers' Proposals

All this made the brewers insolent beyond any who have ever attempted to control public life in America. One proposal emanating from them was that states which shut out them and their product should be deprived of government grants for river and harbor improvements, free rural delivery, public buildings, etc. A constitutional amendment proposed by the brewers and voted on in Ohio, read: "No law shall be passed or be in effect prohibiting the sale . . . of intoxicating liquors operative in a subdivision of the state upon the option of the electors thereof . . . within a territory larger than a municipal corporation or a township. . . .

Nor shall any law hereafter be passed prohibiting the sale . . . of intoxicating liquors throughout the state" (79). P. V. Deuster, in the eighties, proposed an amendment to the national constitution which would have abrogated all existing state and local anti-liquor laws and rendered similar enactments thereafter illegal (80).

A characteristic letter was that sent out by Anheuser-Busch to business firms requesting them to write a strong letter to senators and congressmen of their state against the Hobson Resolution and "prevailing upon your friends and acquaintances that they may do likewise" (81). The crack of the whip comes in the concluding paragraph. "Will you be good enough to acknowledge receipt of this letter and if not inconsistent enclose copy of the letter written by you to the senators and congressmen. Yours truly, A. A. Busch." On another occasion Anheuser-Busch (a Missouri corporation) telegraphed to people in Illinois bidding them in turn to telegraph to members of the Illinois legislature for the passage of a bill to compensate liquor men put out of action by prohibition (82).

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CHAPTER IX

HOW IT WORKED THE PRESS

"There is just one deadly damning count against the daily newspaper . . ." wrote Professor Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, in the Atlantic Monthly (March, 1910). "*It does not give the news.* . . . Smothering of facts in deference to the advertiser" takes place. The press has become "an instrument for coloring certain kind of news, diffusing certain misinformation or fostering certain impressions. . . . When all is said the defection of the daily press has been a staggering blow to democracy." Theodore Roosevelt, when editor of the "Outlook" made similar observations. "The sources of information are choked by the daily press. . . . As many worthy citizens are almost wholly unaware (of this) they are naturally misled as regards the rights and wrongs of any issue as to which the big interests deem it expedient that they should be mis-informed."

Power Propaganda

Evidence in support of this sweeping statement can be found on all sides. Take, for example, the Report of the Utility Corporations investigation (Senate Document 92, 70th Congress, 1st Session).

The newspapers were discovered to be saturated with propaganda paid for with advertising. A publicity agent for the power interests reported: "One of the most interesting and valuable results we have so far obtained has been the number of editorials published in many of the leading newspapers of New England, where our material has been directly reprinted in the editorial columns or taken as a text for favorable comment on the public utility problem." The 1922 statement of this agent reckoned up 453 solid columns of editorial matter of this sort and 7,203 inches of non-editorial matter. The editorial space thus obtained equaled fifty-six and one-half pages of solid reading-matter of the Boston Herald size.

The statement continues: "We believe it fair to assume that not more than half of the material republished in the newspapers of New England has come to our attention. . . . We can ask for no better attitude" on the part of the press. "Lack of advertising seems to be at the root of most of the criticism (*i. e.,* of the power interests) on the part of the newspaper man."

When asked to explain, this witness said: "When I talked to these men a good many of them said frankly, 'If you people want to get into our news columns, why don't you advertise? If you want to use our columns there is plenty of white space at regular rates.' "

The cross-examination brought out such dialogue

as the following (Senate Document 92, 70th Congress, 1st Session):

Ques. "Do some of the views that are expressed from time to time in the bulletin become reflected or are they reproduced in the editorial columns of the Iowa newspapers?"

Ans. "They are."

Ques. "And the fellow that reads the newspaper does not know that you have anything to do with it?"

Ans. "Not always."

Ques. "That is propaganda, isn't it, Mr. Carmichael?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Have you encouraged the utility companies in Iowa to increase the amount of advertising?"

Ans. "We have."

Ques. "That thereby the attitude of the paper would become more friendly and your material would be more readily used?"

Ans. "Yes."

Public Utility Editorials

And again on page 187, Vol. 4:

Ques. "Haven't you influenced editorial opinion when the result comes about that an editor reprints an article from your bulletin as his editorial and makes no change in it?"

Ans. "Why, I have influenced it to the extent

that he prints it, but it is wholly his editorial by printing it."

Ques. "But he does not write it?"

Ans. "He does not write it."

Ques. "You wrote it?"

Ans. "I wrote it."

Ques. "And he takes what you have written and gives it to his readers as his editorial?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "And you are paid by the power companies to write the material?"

Ans. "Surely."

The current advertising of all public utilities companies amounts to from 25 million to 28 million dollars yearly. In New York State this publicity is sent to 1,000 newspapers and is ordinarily reproduced in their columns without indications which would make clear its source.

Ques. "An editorial will be written around the item that is clipped from your bulletin?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Reproduced almost word for word in the editorial columns?"

Ans. "Yes" (1).

Rising to the Bait

The charges in Upton Sinclair's *Brass Check* seem to have been essentially true. I have often wondered why Mr. Sinclair did not dedicate a chapter to the brewers. They certainly would have made

a gorgeous study for his caustic pen. If he had but fallen in with William E. Johnson in those joyous days when the latter was trapping editors—now in Nebraska, now in Texas, now in West Virginia—with feigned letters and the promise of an ample wad! In Texas, for example, 168 editors, one-third of the total 500 in Texas, in reply to a decoy letter sent them, agreed to sell space, either editorial or news, to the drink interest. Forty-four over their signature offered to sell editorial space at a stipulated price (2). A letter mailed from Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1890, to Nebraska editors, inquired the rates for which they would print in their editorial and news columns such anti-prohibition matter as should be furnished them. Accompanying the letter was a printed slip containing, as a specimen, glaringly unfair and dishonest anti-prohibition statistics. About sixty newspaper proprietors responded, eagerly offering to open their columns to the liquor men without regard to the character of the matter presented. Among the journals represented were the most influential dailies of the state, including the Lincoln State Journal and Omaha Bee and Republican (3). In West Virginia a letter purporting to come from a "literary agent" at Washington, D. C., read: "Advise me what rate per line you will charge for pure reading matter without advertising marks, and also what rate you will charge for editorial matter. I am willing to pay for editorials against prohibi-

tion, even if written by yourself." Of the 70 papers approached less than ten refused to sell their columns. Some were so eager for pap that they asked that the promised money should be wired to them! (4).

A Pennsylvania Episode

Mr. Johnson secured from H. P. Crowell, who managed the Pennsylvania campaign against the prohibition amendment in 1889, confidential information which was to go to similar campaigners in Nebraska, but which fortunately was relayed to a larger reading public. Crowell told the Nebraska wets to favor the passage of high license with severe restrictions. "That will get you the support of the best people, preachers and politicians. If you get the politicians on both sides they influence the papers and the *papers can win any fight. It is the cheapest and best way.* Argue that prohibition don't prohibit. When the fight was over I destroyed all our documents."

After describing how by forced levies he raised his corruption fund, Mr. Crowell continued, "We bought the newspapers by paying down so much cash. Throughout the state we paid weekly papers from $50 to $500 to publish such matter as we might furnish, either news or editorials, but the city daily papers we had to pay up to $4,000, which amount was paid to the Philadelphia Times."

Other wets opened their hearts to Mr. Johnson.

Collins, of the Scranton Brewery, advised the Nebraskans to get control of the press. "Money spent that way will produce greater results than in any other way." Casey Brothers, of Scranton: "We got the newspapers." Brewer Moerlein said: "A greater part of the funds were paid to the newspapers." Bowler Brothers, of Worcester, advised against holding public meetings. "Prohibitionists will not attend and you will have the hall filled with a gang of loafers which will make you look like state's-prison birds" (5).

Suppressing Dry News

That the city press, with honorable exceptions, all too often smothers that which would put the dry side in a favorable light needs no elaboration. It is the natural corollary to the fact that it is widely controlled for the publication of wet propaganda. A letter to the Times-Democrat of New Orleans, December 6, 1907, sums up the situation. "We feel it our duty to advise you," wrote the Fred Miller Brewing Company of Milwaukee, through A. C. Paul, manager of its advertising department, "that all these different newspapers who fail to suppress prohibition and anti-saloon news will hereafter not only lose our patronage, but also that of almost every brewer in the United States. We are now receiving daily reports on this subject" (5).

One cannot blame the brewers for refusing to advertise in papers unfriendly to their business. But

it is a public scandal that, in order to obtain the profits of this advertising, the press should suppress important news.

When the World Appealed to Maine

Yet this is the case, and illustration can be furnished. A Catholic temperance parade took place in Chicago in 1910. The brewers ordered Milwaukee papers not to mention it. One paper which disobeyed was deprived of advertising for three months (7). The Chicago Vice Report of 1911 had various paragraphs which reflected on the brewers. It was noticeable how these were suppressed by newspapers all over the country (8). At the time of the beer propaganda in the press for the restoration of the beer canteen in the army an appeal organized by Dr. W. W. Keen, of Philadelphia, was given widest publicity. A counter appeal with the names of 67 medical professors and 37 other physicians of eminence, was never even referred to in the press (9). Two similar incidents came within the writer's notice. In 1911 it was planned by the brewers and politicians to strangle the Maine Prohibition Law. McDermott, the organizer of the United States Brewers' Association, was sent into the state with $130,000, so it was related in the Portland Evening Express (July 17, 1911), and it was quietly explained that as much more would be forthcoming if required. Newspapers outside the state were set a-weeping over the enormities of the state

prohibition law in the usual style. This situation roused the interested attention of prohibitionists world-over because of the historic position which Maine held in the fight against alcohol and against the international alcohol capital. An appeal to the people of Maine to retain and strengthen their law was signed by intellectuals throughout the world. This material was given to the Associated Press and other agencies some time before it was released, but it was still-born save in the papers of Maine.

Now let us suppose that in 1911 these signers—the Hon. Philip Snowden (the present British Chancellor of the Exchequer), and the Hon. Arthur Henderson (British Minister of Foreign Affairs), and Professor Masaryk, now President of Czecho-Slovakia, and M. Emile Vandervelde, the Socialist Premier of Belgium, and the classicist, Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford, and the great anatomist, Professor Weichselbaum, Rector of University of Vienna, and the great economist, Professor Westergaard, Rector of the University of Copenhagen, and the great brain specialists, Professor Kraepelin of the University of Munich and Professor August Forel of Zurich, and the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and Professor Sims Woodhead, the Cambridge University physiologist, and a long list of other European intellectuals, signers of this Maine Appeal—had appealed to the people of Maine *to abandon their prohibition law as a failure;* would there have been a newspaper in the country but would

have had it on the front page with long editorial moralizings in addition? That indeed would have been "news fit to print" because the brewers approved. On the other hand, when Dr. Empringham, of the wholly unimportant "Church Temperance Society" comes out with his pro-beer pronouncements, our entire press, from Maine to California, puts him on the first page in heavy black-leaded type and the Literary Digest gives his face the immortality of its front page columns.*

Smothering the Memorial for National Prohibition

Or take a similar case. In 1917, a Memorial for National Prohibition was presented to the Con-

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* Earlier, in 1923, Doctor Empringham had spoken the truth about beer but not a whisper of *that* ever got into the newspapers. This is what he said before he went over to the brewers' side. "We English are the worst drug-fiends on the globe and we do not know it because we think of ethyl-hydrate not as a drug but as a drink. The people of Europe and America consume vast quantities of filthy liquid excretion which exudes from the bodies of certain microscopic organisms called *mycodermata.* These microscopic organisms fall into the juice of grapes, devour the sugar and excrete a narcotic poison which the chemists call ethyl hydrate, the popular name of which is alcohol. We turn the starch of barley into a sugary solution, introduce some of the microscopic organisms and when they have all committed suicide in their own toxic excretion we label the result 'beer.' The Eighteenth Amendment is not a sumptuary law since alcohol is a narcotic poison, dangerous to the community. . . . Prohibition is succeeding better than many of its ardent advocates ever expected." Law Observance (Published by the Church Temperance Society, February, 1923).

gress of the United States with the signatures of one thousand leading Americans from all walks of life. The congressional judgment was that never had a more notably signed petition come into the Senate chamber. The Memorial was sent to the Associated Press and to every important newspaper in the United States. If any paper took cognizance of it, the fact did not reach us. The only press reference to it that the writer discovered was a notice in the Hotel Gazette, July 28, 1917, calling on the hotels of the country to boycott those signers of the Memorial who were in business life. It said: "Undoubtedly, as a result of the telegrams massed strategically by Representative Randall, national prohibition was passed by the House as a rider to the food control legislation. . . . Who did this? Well may hotel men ask. Look over the list of names in foregoing paragraphs and you will know at least who helped to do it. Check these names against the list of those from whom the average hotel buys, then total the amount spent with these concerns, and you have the answer to the question which heads this article (*Are You Financing Prohibition?*).

"From the list—it is a long one—it is possible to cull the names of merchants whose profits would be some thousands of dollars less each year if they did not sell to hotels, receiving in payment for their products money at least partly earned by selling liquor."

So one paper at least dared mention the 1917 Memorial for National Prohibition.

Intimidating the Press

When newspapers printed anything unfavorable to the brewers the latter either tried to buy or bully them into silence. Mr. Richard Smith, the owner of the Indianapolis News, was not a prohibitionist, but, as he told me, had come to the conviction that it was a choice between prohibition and brewery domination, and he preferred the first. This conviction was the result of investigations made by Mr. W. H. Blodgett concerning brewery corruption in Indiana. The News was offered $50,000 in advertising if it would discharge Blodgett. Again, the Brooklyn Eagle having remarked that the stopping of the sale of liquor on New York and Philadelphia trains "is as it should be," the Brewers' Journal of March 1, 1915, wrote:

"We know that the publishers of the Eagle are not sufficiently foolish to make of their paper a financial failure by converting it into a prohibition organ; and as to the wicked young men who might be apt to get the Eagle into trouble with the brewery industry, they may be easily disciplined.

"Mr. McKelvey is expected henceforth to insist that the prohibition of beer on railways is a thing that should *not* be."

In 1910 drunkenness was growing at such an alarming pace in Massachusetts that a restrictive

measure of far from drastic character was passed by the legislature. The Boston Herald lent its support, and for this audacity soon received the brewers' attention. In editorials (May 16 and 17, 1910) the Herald had spoken of "the consolidated, unified, well-buttressed liquor-interests of the state.* Its representatives have confessed their purpose to punish newspapers that ignore their wishes and refuse to serve under their dictation." This punishment took the usual form of "withdrawal of advertising." "If it is true," remarked the Herald, "that such advertising contracts are being distributed, not as a matter of business promotion, but for the purpose of commanding editorial support and sympa-

* The metropolitan press is too well-informed not to know the enormous and sinister power of the brewers in the past. Once in a decade it lets slip the truth. The New York World at the time of the Terre Haute election frauds remarked on the brewers' offensive activity in politics. "The brewers who own most of the saloons are chiefly to blame for the disasters that are overtaking them. They have not been content to sell beer. They have undertaken to govern parties, cities, and states. Their power has been prodigious and naturally it has often been abused. The brewing combine is the cheekiest of all our trusts for it is the only one that has yet ventured to operate openly at the polls." (Quoted in American Issue, New Jersey Edition, April 30, 1915.)

The Chicago Tribune made this confession concerning the base industry whose cause it now so vehemently supports: "If the secret records of the brewing and distilling industries were ever brought to light they would tell a story of social and political corruption unequalled in the annals of our history. If these men have not made a practice of committing murder and arson it is because these crimes did not seem immediately profitable." Chicago Tribune (Quoted in American Issue, March, 1930).

thetic silence when the public interest clashes with the selfish profit-getting of this traffic, that fact becomes a matter of public concern." The New Bedford Mercury also balked at the brewers' whip. "When any advertiser or group of advertisers attempt to dictate the policy of a newspaper, or to influence the presentation of the news in the newspapers they employ on the strength of their patronage, there is no choice for self-respecting publishers but to cast out their business."

"Reading Matter Accepted"

In general, however, it would appear that publishers and editors have not been sufficiently self-respecting to follow this course. "You are aware, I presume," runs a letter to Mr. Fox in brewer Andreae's files, *"that all large advertisers in our business have arrangements with the newspapers by which a certain amount of reading matter is accepted from them editorially for publication.* As an instance, about a week ago I met a gentleman connected with the firm which manages the advertising of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, who told me that his firm had had the open letter to Dean Sumner republished in eighteen hundred newspapers. He went on to say that their trouble was to obtain really effective matter for this purpose, it being necessary to supply the newspapers with material that, in addition to its argumentative features, possessed some

news value. But he made it clear to me that the basis of all large advertising contracts is the securing of an amount of reading space in the newspapers for articles in defense of the trade, and I have been wondering whether sufficient attention is being paid to this important privilege by the advertising brewers themselves. If its use is left entirely in the discretion of the firms who place the advertising it is questionable whether all such firms devote the intelligent attention to the matter which it requires" (10).

Also the Editorial Column

Have newspapers sold their editorial as well as their news columns? So it appears. The Government Index of the brewers' correspondence says, on page 94: "Another effective method of influencing public opinion is by the owning, subsidizing or using of newspapers, news bureaus, and advertising agencies, in a news, *editorial* and advertising way. Lists of papers that were favorably inclined were kept on file and supplied with material. . . . *This feature of publicity work also makes use of the papers editorially, a certain amount of editorial space being allowed with each advertising contract. The publicity department* (*i. e.,* of the United States Brewers' Association) *also furnished brewers with editorial material for use in connection with their individual advertising contracts.*"

One can understand now why there was a gen-

eral massacre of checks and check-stubs in the offices of the United States Brewers' Association each month. On pages 108-10 of the Overman Report are some receipts which escaped. Here is a typical one.

"Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 1, 1915.

"United States Brewers Assoc.,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

National Monthly Magazine
Norman E. Mack, Publisher

1915
Nov. 1. To two pages (1440 Agate Lines), "Editorials on the Prohibition Question," in November number of National Monthly at 50 cents per line.....$720.00
Less Special Discount..... 220.00

$500.00

Rec'd Payment—National Monthly Co.
12/2/15 M. J. R. Thank you."

The Beer Canteen Hullabaloo

The army beer canteen was an extremely valuable sales agency for the brewers. It was instituted first by Secretary-of-War William C. Endicott, in 1889. Many officers objected to it, but the army papers did not dare oppose the War Department. Credit was given in the canteens and the first payday bill was the beer bill. Enlisted men who drank

ceased to lay up money. This incessant indebtedness made them restless and ready to seek other callings. In the Spanish War brewery freight cars were often given precedence over supply cars. At Chickamauga Park there were at least fifty canteens established chiefly by the great brewery companies. At one time 28 beer cars were counted on the siding at Lytle, the Park station. Tents and fixtures were supplied by the brewers. The bartenders were soldiers detailed for this humiliating service. Widespread drunkenness resulted at Camp Alger, Chickamauga, Mobile, and Tampa, and bitter drunken brawls between white and Negro soldiers (11).

The scandal became so intolerable that Congress finally took action. Then the press began its outcry. The stereotyped sophistries about "beer and light wines" filled columns of editorial space (wines were never sold to the troops; the word "wines" was simply used to give an apologetic glamour to the more plebeian drink). There was, too, the solemn slush as to how the canteen held men within the encampment and protected them from the wicked drink shops in near-by towns. We were told of the great increase in venereal sickness which followed the abolition of the canteen. For a series of years the press kept the country in a fever of discussion as if the fate of the army, and with it, of the nation, hung on this insignificant matter. Who doubts one minute that the corpulence of Mil-

waukee was hid behind and below the editorial Punch and Judy show? One slice of evidence is all that we need cut. The New Voice (September 8, 1904) called attention to the fact that the Columbus Citizen, the St. Louis Chronicle and the Harrisburgh Telegraph, on August 3, 1904, all printed the same editorial on the restoration of the canteen. In its issue of October 13, 1904, it quoted an editorial which appeared in the Anaconda Standard, September 15, 1904, and the Manchester Union of September 10, both identical, save as to the opening paragraph, and both insisting on the indispensability of the beer canteen.

"Handling the Press"

There is evidence enough that editorial quills have been venal and that the brewers have footed the bills. "I would suggest," writes Riggins, of the Texas Brewers' Association, "that it would be well for us to arrange for the S(an) A(ntonio) Express and other papers that you were *to handle,* to oppose the poll tax amendment, upon the position that it does not give the laboring man or the poor man right to vote. You know how *to handle* them and get this before the public. . . . It is very important that we advise the laboring element—the poor people—of our State, without thereby making ourselves conspicuous, that this is a kind of class movement . . ." (12). The organs of "the poor" lined up with their usual antagonists in the

daily press. "I have," writes Paget, December, 1904, "every labor journal in the State . . . carrying in each issue advertisements and other articles written or inspired by this office" (13). Epstein writes Wahrmund: "You can, therefore, *handle the press* as you see fit. It might be best not to use the columns of the papers with our paid matter, but *to so handle* that department of the work from Austin so that all matters will simply go in as news items. The correspondents of the papers with whom we have contracts would no doubt, *if properly handled,* give us all the space we want" (14).

On pages 784-785 of the Overman Report is a long list of Wisconsin papers, German and American, which complain that they are not getting their share of brewery advertising. "It was to meet this situation that your Executive Board devised the campaign I referred to. . . . It has been a good insurance investment for you. The expressions that we have had from these men justify us in telling you that you never spent money for which you received more in return."

The brewers kept in the dark their relations with the press. Andreae, in his report to the trustees of the United States Brewers' Association, October, 1915, has long paragraphs devoted to various activities. One, headed "Newspaper and News Bureau Work," occupies just two lines: "I explained this department in detail during my recent visit to Philadelphia. It is not of a nature to permit of an

intelligent outlining in a written report" (15). In other words, operations with the press constituted the only section of his general report concerning which he did not care to make a written record.

Working the Magazines

At the Senate hearings Humes asked: "You employed someone to write an article, and because of the standing of the author the author was able then to sell the article to a periodical for publication?"

Brewer Feigenspan: "I believe that is true."

Humes: "And the author of the article received remuneration both from your organization and from the periodical in which the article was published?"

Feigenspan: "I believe that is true" (16).

That was the system. On page 770 of the Overman Report, Fox writes: "We have been trying in every possible way to break into the Saturday Evening Post . . . Mr. Lorimer finally agreed to give us space for 1,000 words. Our article was based on data supplied by Mr. Koren." On page 107 (O. R.) mention is made of the National Monthly as publishing material for the brewers. "(It is) one of the principal organs of the administration and goes to every Democratic Congressman and to every Democratic State legislature, besides having a bona fide list of nearly 100,000 copies." Of an article to appear in Putnam's Mag-

azine, Fox writes: "It proves the complete failure of Prohibition in the cities of Georgia. . . . In view of the fact that the magazine will probably lose some of its subscribers through the publication of this article, it is important that we should recognize the independent attitude of the publishers by getting them as many new subscribers as possible. I believe that it is the intention of the magazine to follow the subject up in subsequent issues" (17). Leslie's was a weekly whose attitude was especially satisfactory to the liquor interests. Mr. Cabell, Commissioner of Internal Revenue under President Taft, wrote an article for the November 12 number entitled, "Facts About Kansas on the Water Wagon." Mr. Fox says of it: "(We) are ordering two thousand copies. . . . Mr. J. A. Sleicher, the Editor of Leslie's . . . requests, for obvious reasons, that the letter be extremely guarded" (18).

"Reputable Publications" and the Brewers

On page 316 of the Overman Report is an entry of payment of $1,913, to the North American Review for copies taken (that is some 6,000 copies at 35 cents). A letter sent by the United States Brewers' Association reads:

"Gentlemen: Some four years ago we wrote you suggesting that you subscribe for Harper's Weekly. . . . In view of the general attitude of Harper's Weekly on sumptuary laws and the rights of the individual and its consistent editorial policy in rela-

tion thereto, we feel that this publication is fairly entitled to your consideration and support. . . . The editorials in Harper's are widely quoted, and I shall appreciate your co-operation in this matter. I take the liberty of suggesting that you write direct to Messrs. Harper & Bros., enclosing $4.00 for your subscription, and that you endeavor to secure additional subscriptions from your friends" (19). On page 795 of the Report, Mr. Fox advises extending this help to friendly magazines. "Favorable avenues which are being opened to us . . . through such eminently reputable concerns as the Harper publications and Appleton's Magazine." He suggests that a thousand subscriptions be made to a dozen periodicals (each?). "No reputable magazine would . . . allow a special interest, such as ours, to contribute directly to the expense of making an investigation or procuring material for an article" (this was constantly done by Messrs. Fox and Koren, and for reputable magazines), "but there are a number of reputable magazines, and a good many daily papers, which can be favorably impressed through their advertising columns, and to a smaller extent, through their subscription lists."

Subscriptions Paid

Senator Overman called on Mr. Fox for information concerning these indirect subsidies. "You do know of financing certain magazines by subscribing to extra copies of magazines and papers?"

Fox: "Oh, yes."

Senator Overman: "In numerous cases where they had articles in them that you had encouraged them to publish?"

Fox: "That was a common practice."

Overman: "Do you know how much was expended in that way?"

Fox: "It may have amounted to $25,000 or $50,000 a year. It may have amounted to more, for all I know" (20).

Major Humes asked Mr. Hammerling concerning the same practice: "Why would they (the brewers) pay you thousands of dollars a year for subscriptions—(to The American Leader)?"

Hammerling: "Major, they do it with every newspaper in the United States, practically."

Major Humes: "It is a fact, is it not, that in November, 1915, they paid you for the following subscriptions: To 624 rabbis, 2,002 priests, 1,700 ministers, 1,385 German and foreign newspapers, and 206 Polish Sokol unions . . ."

Hammerling: "Yes." (It transpired that drink advertisements were barred from this publication lest the clergy should suspect that the brewers were back of it) (21).

A Bouquet of Publications

On they come, these editorial sandwich-men. "During the past year a large number of articles have been published in many of the leading

newspapers and magazines, which have either been suggested by us, or have been based on our investigations and material. Articles and *editorials* have been published"—listen to the roll-call —"in the Medical Record, Journal of the American Medical Association and the British Journal of Inebriety. Articles have been published in the Survey, Outlook, American Underwriter, the Journal of the American Statistical Association, the American Food Journal and the National Municipal Review . . . in the Journal of Commerce, Commercial Bulletin, Engineering and Mining Journal and the Manufacturers' News. Special articles and editorials have appeared in the American Federationist and in the organs of the leading national labor bodies. Articles of general interest have appeared in the Metropolitan Magazine, National Monthly, International Magazine, National Magazine, Leslie's, Judge, Puck and the Saturday Evening Post. A series of special articles on the prohibition question are announced to appear this fall in the North American Review and the Atlantic Monthly. These should prove of great value and importance. . . . Other articles have also been published and will continue to appear in the publications of particular classes such as the Catholic Church publications and the leading Negro publications."—Confidential Report of Publication Committee of United States Brewers' Association, 1915, to be read in executive session (O. R., p. 1086).

Certainly an extensive publicity report for one year!

Where the Money Came From

A very instructive exhibit given on page 309 of the Overman Report shows the extent of the control which the breweries had over the press through advertising contracts. Between October 16 and October 31, 1917, inclusive, $458,399.65 was collected from brewing firms and fed out to the press. This was at the time when the fight for the Eighteenth Amendment was on and was, of course, an extra effort. The list is too long to reproduce. The first day enumerates the following firms contributing:

October 16

Jamestown Brewing Co.	$ 745.29
Genesee Brewing Co.	2,037.30
Bartholomay Brewery	7,910.19
Beadleston & Woerz	5,667.22
Doelger Brewing Co.	8,069.11
Hupfel's Sons, A.	2,343.42
Trommer's Evergreen Brewery	1,307.79
Evans & Sons, C. H.	1,418.00
Liebmann's Sons Brewing Co.	16,582.00
Hauck & Co., Peter	4,215.00
Ballantine & Sons, P.	14,171.16
Wiedemann Brewing Co.	2,500.00
Garden City Brewing Co.	1,000.00
Rising Sun Brewing Co.	524.00
Penn. Central Brewing Co.	1,500.00
Peil Brewing Co.	985.53
Yale Brewing Co.	3,508.57

India Wharf Brewery	3,496.35
Helb, Theo. R.	830.02
Finkenauer Brewing Co.	1,641.71
Prospect Brewing Co.	2,231.53
Krueger Brewing Co.	8,205.34
Feigenspan, Christian	16,699.95
Miller Brewing Co.	12,000.00
Kewanee Brewing Co.	293.46
Baltz Brewing Co.	5,250.00

Purchase of Newspapers

There were occasional notices indicating that the brewers were investing in newspapers, but these were not many. It was clear to them, apparently, that the press could be controlled through its advertising columns quite as surely as by actual ownership. The Montgomery Advertiser described as "a very vital force in the political, industrial and civic life of Alabama," seems to have been bought by them for $100,000. The Newark Ledger was financed by brewer Feigenspan in a carefully concealed investment of $150,000 (22). When the Fort Worth Record was started brewer Adoue took $7,500 of its stock (23). For the Washington Times $500,000 was collected and put at Mr. Arthur Brisbane's disposal; payments, however, were made through an intermediary, *The Growing Circulation Corporation,* probably in order to hide their source. A proposal was made by the Texas brewers to start a paper, to be called "The Texas Talker." Its nominal purpose would be to "talk Texas from a railroad, agricultural, industrial and investor's stand-

point." Its actual objective was quite different: "The paper need not be offensively anti-prohibition," wrote the promoter. "It could be Democratic in politics and discuss Texas development, resources, etc. Prohibition could be handled as a 'State-killer,' as a tax raiser and as a crime producer, and in such a way as it would appear only incidental, yet conspicuous enough so that the information which we desired to plant in the minds of the public would be seen and read by the people" (24).

The Associated Press

Relations with the Associated Press seem to have been cordial. "Our correspondents in New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and in the war zone have supplied much material both to us and to the Associated Press. This material has been further made over for us by certain publicity agencies, and sent out as a part of their special service to a large number of newspapers, and returns indicate that these stories have been published in over 300 of the leading daily papers, besides a good many of the smaller dailies and country weeklies."* In the brewers' secret employ was the heir-apparent of the Associated Press. Fox writes (February 19, 1914): "This is to inform you that we have secured the services of Mr. Herbert S. Stone to take up our publicity work in the field. . . . Mr. Stone is a son of

* See note on page 208.

Melville Stone, Manager of the Associated Press . . . a graduate of Harvard (1894) where he edited the Harvard 'Crimson.' . . . Mr. Stone formed the publishing house of Stone & Kimball. . . . His success will depend largely on the co-operation that he receives from our State Associations and their willingness to spend money themselves in publicity" (25). Presently we find this son of crimson Harvard at work. On page 1084 of the Overman Report we are told: "Under the direction of Mr. Herbert S. Stone we have carried on a campaign of advertising in the country papers, and the experience we had in some fifteen States indicates that about two-thirds of the country papers are willing to run such advertising." The last time Mr. Stone is spoken of in the brewers' correspondence is where, a traveller on the Lusitania on a wet errand, he disappears forever in a wet grave. One can easily see how close the brewers had come to the Associated Press through this son of its president. Fox describes his last journey as twofold emissary of the Associated Press and of the United States Brewers' Association. "Mr. Stone has sailed for Europe to visit the various foreign bureaus of the Associated Press and get a line on conditions in various countries during war-time. He has secured letters from the British, French, German and Russian Ambassadors and from the State Department in Washington, and is also armed with letters to a number of the leading editors, publicists

and statesmen in London, Paris, Berlin and Petrograd. For the purpose of this trip, he has been appointed by the Associated Press as a special inspector of Associated Press agencies. We expect, through this undertaking, to establish a chain of permanent correspondents who will keep us thoroughly informed as to all the developments, and, at the same time, will send items and articles of special interest to American publications" (26).

Angling for Country Editors

The country press was, as we have seen, envisaged in the brewers' plan of campaign. "We have . . . to induce the editor (of the small town weekly) to run advertising which is frankly in opposition to the beliefs of his readers, in order to educate those very readers to our side. . . . We have sent checks in advance and the average country editor, struggling to make a living, hates to return checks. We have prepared very mild, very inoffensive copy to start with and in spite of all this 64 papers out of 140 in Texas declined the advertising" (27). There is still some America left! "We have succeeded in placing advertising which is now appearing every other week, in over 1,200 country papers in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Illinois, Maryland, Iowa, Nevada, Texas, Arkansas, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Oregon. . . . The circulation is not confined

to the town proper but spreads out throughout the county in which the paper is published" (28).

This was the first move in a campaign which was to cover 2,658 small-town weekly newspapers in every state in the Union. "We have estimated that something like ten million people in rural districts would see each of these advertisements, and as these are people who . . . have heard nothing of the brewer's side of the story, your cause could hardly fail to receive great benefit." These home-wreckers also ran a publication called "The Hearthstone Magazine," for farmers and small-town people, which had 301,000 subscribers. It was a "family magazine" with veiled propaganda, mailed gratis to thousands of "dry" homes. A Texas "worker" writes of his publicity output. It "was run out as boilerplate among a chain of country newspapers, and purported to be coming from a source which would have the right influence. He enjoined the strictest confidence" since "this work is done at the brewery and under cover" (29).

Wet Editors in the Legislature

The value of some country editors appears in a letter from the Hon. A. S. Crisp of the Cuero Star asking for renewal of an advertising contract. Crisp was member of the Texas legislature as well as journalist. He explains, as one reason for deserving the subsidy, that "as a member of the liquor committee I accomplished the defeat of a bill de-

signed to teach prohibition (*i. e.,* temperance) in the public schools of the State." In another appeal for beer finance Crisp says, "The solons will be again gathering at Austin and if there is anything there you want attended to it will give me great pleasure to serve you" (30). Mr. Lilienthal gives a parallel case. The American Brewing Association paid for advertisement in the *Texas Deutsche Zeitung* regularly every month, and a good price at that. But only because the publisher was a member of the legislature (31).

The Foreign Language Press

For the foreign population the brewers had the services of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, founded by a Mr. Louis Hammerling, a Galician Jew. Hammerling, when working in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania, tied up to the Republican machine, voted Polish miners, secured control of a Polish paper, took charge of advertising in the foreign-language press for the Republican National Committee, was sent as a delegate to the Republican National Convention, acquired an Italian paper, and then conceived the genial idea of controlling the entire foreign press of the country through its advertising. His political connections with the Quay-Penrose machine enabled him to utilize prominent Republican personalities in Washington. His method was to impress the foreign newspapers with his standing by organ-

izing banquets at New York, Cleveland, and elsewhere, at which the advertising agents of great corporations, such as the Standard Oil and American Tobacco companies, were present together with men prominent in public life. Publishers and editors of foreign language newspapers were also there. At one of these banquets held at the Republican Club in New York, Mr. Cortelyou, then Secretary of the Treasury and former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, was present and with him three other members of the President's Cabinet, including the Attorney-General (32). This association with men prominent in the government gave to Mr. Hammerling's venture prestige in the eyes of the foreign-language press; the rich advertising provided by the great corporations was fed out to the papers and in return Hammerling obtained influence, political and other, which was canalized into the projects of the corporations (33). The brewers were quick to see the value of this Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. Adolphus Busch sent for Hammerling, who tells the story in his own vivid way.

"I never saw him before in my life, but I came, naturally, knowing what he represents . . . he said, 'Are you Hammerling?' I said, 'Yes.' He had a good many of his people standing around, just as if he would be a king. He said, 'Charles Nagel (then Secretary of Commerce and Labor) told me that you can do us some service in the fight

against prohibition.' I said, 'I am the boy if you have any advertising.' " Whereupon Busch turned him over to brewer Andreae, guaranteeing the necessary finance (34). It was agreed that Andreae should have the anti-prohibition articles prepared and that they should be published under Hammerling's name. In three years sixty-six articles were fed into papers in thirty-four different languages. The extent of this publicity can be seen from the fact that there were 583 newspapers in Hammerling's Association.*

Propaganda Dinners

The relations of the beer people with this Association were very intimate. Andreae paid the salary of one of Hammerling's employees who went about the country to promote and extend the enterprise.

* The brewers paid for a bill of over five hundred telegrams sent out by Hammerling in the name of the foreign-language press to every senator and congressman in Washington. The telegram read:

"The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, with a circulation of over 7,000,000, reaching 20,000,000 citizens, protests emphatically on behalf of the overwhelming majority of their citizens against the Hobson resolution providing for national prohibition. Our people consider same unwarranted interference with rights guaranteed them under the Federal Constitution, and will resent the passage of the resolution, which is designed to destroy their most cherished customs and deprive citizens generally of the individual liberty which is as dear to them as life itself. Almost entire foreign-language press has for the past three months voiced this sentiment in strongest possible terms and with full concurrence of its millions of readers." (O. R., p. 493.)

"We shall arrange with these newspapers either to have the articles appear as being specially written for each particular paper by myself . . . or as being prepared by the newspapers themselves." A check signed by brewer Andreae for a dinner to 180 Bohemian priests was exhibited to the Overman Committee; another for a luncheon with six priests and four publishers, the priests being connected with the papers, and, as Mr. Hammerling said, "more in favor of personal liberty in drinks than the publishers." In 1916, a dinner was given at the Plaza Hotel to Monsignor Jelatzky, at which Cardinal Farley and other priests were present.* All of which in the eyes of the foreign-born would give a religious sanction as well as the political, provided by the President's Cabinet, to Hammerling's Association (35).

An Exchange of Services

Hammerling was quite frank in expressing his purpose. "The average papers, including the largest in the United States, support their advertisers

* There were other lines out to trap the unwary foreigner. Father Jacquément, a devoted French Canadian priest, organized in Fall River and other Massachusetts mill-towns a temperance society called *La Cércle Lacordaire.* It was not political in character, but Fox took no chances lest the dry vote might increase thereby in local option elections. He proposed that *L'Opinion Publique,* a French Canadian weekly, should run a series of articles "which I understand he is circulating by manner of free subscriptions to the amount of 5,000 weekly." (O. R., p. 773.)

in different ways. I am simply doing what I learned in this country from the American newspaper people in the way they are doing it. There is hardly an advertiser who is not asked if he wants something in that paper when he advertises."

Major Humes: "Then your practice in conducting your advertising business is to undertake to use your influence to deliver the editorial support of the paper to the advertisers, no matter who the advertisers are. Is that correct?"

Hammerling: "It is, in a general proposition, Major" (36).

Hammerling printed his brewers' propaganda without marking it "advertising."

Major Humes asked him: "Then you disregarded the act of Congress which requires advertising matter to be so marked?"

Hammerling: "I did not know anything about it."

Major Humes: "Do you mean to say that you are not familiar with the act of Congress which requires advertising matter to be so marked?"

Hammerling: "No, sir" (37).

Direct Subsidy

It will be objected that the present hectic agitation in the newspapers cannot be attributed to interested parties because the alcohol capital no longer advertises and cannot, therefore, secure entrance to the press in the accustomed way. This

is not so certain. Direct subsidies have been paid the press in the past. Thus the Report of the Joint Committee of the New York Senate and Assembly to investigate the affairs of the Life Insurance companies says (Assembly Document, No. 41, 1906, p. 21): "Large sums have also been expended in the attempt to influence public opinion through the press by the insertion of so-called 'reading notices,' that is to say, by disguised advertising and by payments to newspaper correspondents and news writers for presumably similar services. Even during the hearings of the committee colored statements of its proceedings, intended to place the officers of the company in a favorable light, were sent out by the Mutual to numerous papers throughout the country and published at a cost of one dollar a line . . ." This "supply, advertising and literary department" cost apparently some $300,000 a year. And on page 60: "As in the case of the Mutual considerable sums have been paid by the New York Life for the publication of 'telegraphic matter' in numerous papers which, it is understood, is intended to cover advertising matter in the guise of news items and for services rendered by newspaper writers." Money seeks its level and at times will find its way into newspaper coffers also.

Here is an illustration from 1912 as in a letter to Henry Geisler, Esq., (editor of the Times-Gazette, a Republican paper, and wet) of Hartford City, Indiana:

"Dear Sir: . . . regarding the advertising proposition, I suggested to Mr. Deluse that the effect might be better if the brewers simply made a contribution (say the price of the ad) but have no brewers' ads appear in the paper. It is my opinion that if brewers' ads become prominent in the paper that the object you aim to accomplish will not be realized but that you will accomplish more if the brewery and the liquor interests are left entirely in the background and it be made to appear, as I know it to be, that you are making the fight from the standpoint of principle. . . . Our Mr. H. E. Cook requested a half page ad. but we would rather pay you the price of a whole page ad. if all brewers' ads. are omitted. As to payments I would suggest that they be made quarterly in advance.

Yours truly,

G. Michael Daussman."

The Times-Gazette is no doubt small fry, but when the hidden things of darkness are finally revealed larger dailies will perhaps be found following this lead (38).

"It is impossible to conduct a publicity campaign," reported the Publication Committee of the United States Brewers' Association, "without occasionally sweetening important publications when a direct appeal is made to us in recognition of accumulated favors." And Adolphus Busch, after outlining a large political program, wrote, "All this will cost

lots of money. . . . We will have to be liberal with the Press of many states" (39).

Fooling the People All of the Time

The press has too often in this matter played the *rôle* of public deceiver. It is interesting to compare the past with the present. A year or so ago the nation was treated to blood-curdling stories of invasion of homes and shootings in connection with enforcement of law. The Christian Century took up the matter, tracing the stories to their source and found distortion and vast exaggeration. Certainly they had the ear-marks of a publicity drive. Neal Dow wrote in the old days of a riot which was provoked in Portland in order to discredit the Maine law, then recently enacted: "The country districts were flooded with circulars full of misstatements and pictures representing officers shooting women and children who had gathered to see the liquors seized. One of these is before me, representing a company of uniformed soldiers firing under my orders into a throng of men, women and children peacefully attending to legitimate pursuits."

Hiring Scientists

The brewers realized how hard hit they were by arguments drawn from the fields of economics, physiology, and psychiatry, and secured experts to make a case for them. These papers were printed in publications of the highest standing, but without

any indication of their real source. "Under our direction Mr. E. B. Phelps (Editor of The American Underwriter) made a study of the relation of alcohol to mortality and morbidity in rejoinder to the essay on this subject which was published by the American Museum of Safety." "Mr. A. J. Nock, of the American Magazine (later of The Nation), has been helped to study saloon conditions in various States. . . ." "I think we probably paid him a remuneration as well as expenses" (in the expectation that he would get these articles published in certain magazines). "Mr. Gustave Meyer was retained to make an investigation of the relation of alcohol to industrial accidents and to industrial efficiency, and his report will be published shortly in the Journal of the American Statistical Society" (40). (He too was financed by Fox.) Again, Mr. Fox writes: "The British Association for the Advancement of Science has sent a Mr. Florance to this country to investigate industrial accidents, and we have put him in touch with Mr. Koren, who has given him a number of letters to people in Washington and other places. His work is important and he seems to be convinced that there is no close connection between accidents and drink" (41). The Banking World published an article describing the failure of prohibition in the South. The Pennsylvania Edition of the American Issue (December 31, 1915) avers that this was furnished by an advertising agency. In the Medical Times, under the cap-

tion of "The Futility of Prohibition," appeared the following persiflage (abridged):

"Insufficient sleep is held accountable for much physical and mental deterioration. It probably ranks not far below alcoholism as a pathogenic factor. Suppose (certain) earnest souls were to become able to secure sufficient sleep legislation in about half the states of the country, and then suppose that a national amendment to the Constitution were to be agitated, how, reader, would you stand? It is easy to see the futility of such an idea as legislation seeking to enforce sufficiency of sleep. Prohibition is not a whit more sane" (42).

A Noble Pair of Brothers

"One of the most notable addresses of the year," says the confidential report of the United States Brewers' Association, "'What shall we do about it,' was delivered by Dr. Henry Smith Williams at Battle Creek, for which we supplied a good deal of the material." Dr. Williams' brother, Dr. Edward H. Williams, had written a book, *The Question of Alcohol.* This was "sent by the publishers to a member of the American Medical Association in some fifteen thousand small cities and towns throughout the country, as well as to the libraries." It was recommended that $1,000 in addition to the $3,000 already appropriated be used to send copies of the work by Dr. E. H. Williams, *Alcohol, Hygiene and Legislation,* "to localities where there

may be fights on the liquor question" (43). Dr. Edward H. Williams is also mentioned as having made studies of the drug menace in the (prohibition) South and of insanity in Kansas which were published in leading medical journals, the Survey, the National Monthly, the New York Tribune, and other important newspapers. These articles were collected in book form and sent to all libraries and newspapers (44).

Who ever would have suspected such activities of this *par nobile fratrum?*

It may be added that the Survey printed a bitter and unfair attack on temperance instruction in the public schools by this same Dr. E. H. Williams. This was followed up by correspondence, printed in the Survey, from Messrs. Wasson and Roney, also secretly associated with brewerdom. Fox, who was a "Survey Associate," had 8,000 copies of the Survey's article mailed to influential persons. Is it too late for the Survey, though fifteen years have passed, to apologize for having, even if unwittingly, put over this brewers' propaganda upon the public? (45).

The article on Temperance in the Encyclopædia Britannica (1911 edition), is by Dr. A. Shadwell, who tells us "the existence of a broad relation between superior vigor and an inclination for alcoholic drinks was pointed out years ago by the writer. Drinking people are noticeably more energetic and progressive than non-drinking ones. . . . Ex-

tremists place all alcohol-containing drinks under the same ban, but fermented liquors are still held to be comparatively innocuous." One is not surprised at the entry in the United States Brewers' Association correspondence to the effect that Longmans, Green and Company were reprinting, for the United States Brewers' Association, Professor Shadwell's excellent book on *Drink, Temperance and Legislation,* which would be "sent to all public libraries" (46).

The Committee of Fifty

The Committee of Fifty was organized at Harvard at the turn of the century by Professor F. G. Peabody and Professor Bowditch, to give the final answer to the alcohol "question." It was obviously committed, though no doubt sub-consciously, to opinions which had been quite generally abandoned by European medicine. Its conclusion that alcohol "has a food value" (as sea-water contains gold) was a delight to the brewers, who all along had been telling us to "drink your bread." Its assault on anti-alcohol instruction in the schools and its unfair appraisement of the prohibition movement were also wholly satisfactory to brewerdom.

"(We) are winning thoughtful leaders to the merits of our cause," confidently averred brewer Ruppert. "We are appealing successfully to the thoughtful men of the country," said Mr. Fox. "We must, first of all, reach and teach the teachers.

This includes the colleges, libraries, . . . instructors in economics and physiology, and the men who are the leaders of thought in their communities." Fox extended the facilities of the United States Brewers' Association library to such men as Professor James Ford, then conducting a course on alcohol at Harvard, to Professor S. M. Lindsey, conducting a course on social legislation at Columbia, "and to many other students, physicians, and writers, with whom we are thus brought into personal contact" (47).

So they put the Committee of Fifty Report into all the libraries, presented it to the Socialist leaders who were considering what action their party should take on the question; recommended it to the spurious Chicago Commission on the Liquor Traffic as a basis for its findings and otherwise used it as first-class propaganda material for their ends (48).

Senator Nelson, of the Overman Committee, interrogated Mr. Fox as follows: "The kind of publications that you have just described (Committee of Fifty Report, etc.), you did not attempt to circulate among the masses, but you distributed them among what you call the intellectuals?"

Mr. Fox: "Yes."

Senator Nelson: "To get them right?"

Mr. Fox: "Yes" (49).

John Koren

One of the prominent members of the Committee,

Mr. John Koren, who handled the "legislative and economic aspects of the problem," proved susceptible to the brewers' economic arguments and was secretly retained by them to line up the high-brows. Mr. Fox explained that he hired him because he had been "very much impressed with the remarkable work which he (Koren) did as the secretary of the so-called Committee of Fifty" (50). So this President of the American Statistical Society and President of the American Economic Society for years guided the thoughtful, deprecated extreme views and kept his hand on science, steering her gently in the direction in which she should go. When in time the Committee of Fifty fell apart the brewers determined to start another committee which should report in the same vein and temper on the merits of alcohol and the follies of prohibition. Mr. Koren set himself, with the co-operation of international alcohol interests, to establish Committees for the Scientific Study of the Alcohol Question in the chief countries of the world and federated them in an International Committee. To these committees were invited scientists of reputation and even honest men who were honestly engaged in the fight against drink. But the lines were held securely in Koren's hands, the plan being to give to the world *ex parte* information on all phases of the subject. The President of the American Committee was President Taft, and behind him were mobilized a string of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton professors, various bishops, a

cardinal, and what not. Expensive conferences were held in Paris—the President of the French Republic himself attending. But ultimately the status of Koren and the true inwardness of this manœuvre were laid bare and the ambitious project had to be abandoned.

The Atlantic Monthly

This was the Koren who in 1915 was announced by the Atlantic Monthly as the author of a forthcoming series of articles. The brewers had known long before that this malted science was in preparation. Fox wrote to Andreae: *"Confidential."* "The Atlantic Monthly is going to publish a series of articles on 'Alcohol & Society' which will deal with the social, economic, physiological and legislative aspects of the question. Mr. John Koren will have an important part in the matter" (51).

The incident opened with the Atlantic's prospectus in the fall of 1915. It found a fitting, if unintended close, in an Anheuser-Busch advertisement in the June number of 1916. It is hard to tell which of the two documents was more untrue.

From the Prospectus

The social control of alcohol is perhaps the most important question before the American people. The Atlantic has decided to place before its readers articles truthful to fact, fair in inference, and written by an authority who will command a

From the Advertisement

Bread—made with cereals, water, yeast.

Beer—made with cereals, water, yeast.

One is solid, the other liquid.

Beer contains the extra-nerve-resting properties of hops which bread does not. Concentration

hearing. John Koren has studied the question of alcohol, not to prove an hypothesis, but to find the truth. He was commissioned by the Committee of Fifty to write its memorable report. An interesting writer, a dispassionate investigator, we commend his papers to men and women of open mind.

is the main difference between these two foods. As you select the best of materials for getting the best of foods so do we use the best barley, malt, and hops.

Budweiser bottled at the brewery.

Anheuser-Busch, St. Louis.

Between prospectus and advertisement came the articles. The Atlantic Monthly was informed immediately of Mr. Koren's relations to the brewers. Nevertheless it continued the series to the end, snarling at "the dirty innuendo" of his unmasking and describing the articles as "the most effective answer to prohibition yet published." Nor did President Eliot, who, all unwitting, had recommended Koren to the Atlantic, ever inform the public of the imposition perpetrated upon it. The Henry Holt Company later collected the articles in book form and for a dozen years this volume has stood on the reserve shelves of college libraries doing duty as honest science.

The National Municipal League

The National Municipal League is an organization for the improvement of government in American cities. It seems, however, to have served at times as a brewers' stalking horse. The abovementioned brewers' American Committee for the Scientific Study of the Alcohol Question was launched

under its auspices and Koren clearly had the right of way in its organ, the National Municipal Review.

Major Humes: "I call your attention further to the following:

" 'The National Municipal Review published in July a most important article by John Koren, entitled "Some Aspects of the Liquor Question," which has been widely distributed.'

"Was that prepared at the instance of your association?"

Fox: "Yes" (52).

The Secretary and mainspring of the National Municipal League held (according to the Philadelphia North American, April 17, 1909, p. 12) a minor political office in Philadelphia by grace of Senator Penrose, the wet Bluebeard. In a broadside found in a Philadelphia library, and entitled "Pen Pictures of Prominent Persons," I noticed the following regarding this secretary, then running for the legislature. "It was hinted that the German element of the 15th ward was against him. He informed his friends that they need give themselves no uneasiness on that score as, being counsel for the Brewers' Association, he would take care of that end of the line"* (53).

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* One finds in the brewers' publications confirmation of the fact that brewerdom had confidence in the National Municipal League. The Brewers' Journal wrote: "The National Municipal League cannot be fooled. At its Baltimore Convention it adopted resolu-

An Indefatigable "Joiner"

"We are endeavoring to establish lines of communication and co-operation with municipal experts and civic organizations," wrote Mr. Fox, "and to win the confidence of all serious students of government in the consideration of the liquor problem" (54). "Our Secretary," so runs one report, "is a member of all of the national societies which have anything to do with public health, political science, social science and economics, criminology, charities and school hygiene. The acquaintance thus gained with public men has proved most valuable." In the list given are fifty-three organizations! The National Municipal League, of course, and the Survey Associates, and the National Association for the Prevention (not Promotion!) of Mendicancy, The National Child Labor Committee, the National Conference of Charities and Correction, the American Museum of Safety, the American Public Health Association, the American Economic Association, the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, the Religious Citizenship

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tions declaring that state-wide prohibition 'is not the true solution of the liquor problem.'" In its number for February, 1916 (p. 162), it tells us that the United States Brewers' Association had offered a $5,000 prize for best essays on the drink problem. On the jury will be the chairman of the liquor committee of the National Municipal League.

In the Brewers' Journal for November 1, 1913 (p. 22), mention is made of the National Municipal League as approving of the brewers "cleanup campaign."

League, the Pilgrims Society, the Society of the White Cross of Geneva, and two score more, counted Mr. Fox in their membership (55). At one time he was prominent in the New Jersey Charity Organization and during conference seasons even filled Protestant pulpits, tongue in cheek! (56).

The obvious purpose of these connections was to slow down any anti-alcohol tendencies in reform organizations and to attach persons of influence to wet enterprises. "We must bring home to the real leaders what the cause of the trouble is," wrote brewer Andreae. "This can only be done by a combination of sincere men outside of the industry working in co-operation with us. Get men such as Mr. Nagel (then Secretary of Commerce and Labor), Dr. Peters, Dr. Butler (presumably Dr. Nicholas M.), and Cardinal Gibbons to state what is in their minds. . . . If we could get five or ten men of distinction . . . we should gain an educational publicity that would be invaluable. We must convince the men who lead the common herd" (57).

Chaplains to Brewerdom

Issie Friedlander, "one of the best men in the State of Texas to 'hunt up' and haul the niggers to the polls" (58), was all right in his place, but the brewers saw clearly that they needed "the intellectuals" also. Furthermore, they needed the sanction of religion. They found their chaplains. One of the more prominent of them has left us this

apothegm: "The Church and the liquor traffic should stand shoulder to shoulder in this great fight. We need one another." Dr. E. A. Wasson, Rector of St. Stephen's, Newark, prepared a book for the brewers, fifteen hundred copies of which were placed in public libraries. One hundred and sixty-two thousand copies of a digest of this book were sent by the brewers to the clergy of the country. Mr. Wasson was anxious to conceal this backing and wrote: "Nothing is gained by admitting unnecessary people to your counsels" (59). This book followed the usual line—Cana in Galilee: If wine is right, beer is. Q.E.D. Martin Luther as a remedy for worry ranks drink next to the Lord's Prayer. John Bunyan, in the *Pilgrim's Progress,* "represents Christian and Christiana as frequently, if not ordinarily, drinking on their way to the Celestial City and as being helped on their way by this drink" (60). The Newark Retail Liquor Dealers' Association (among whose directors was a certain saloon-keeper twice convicted of keeping a disorderly house) sent a letter to its members which called attention to a communication from Doctor Wasson. "Read it carefully and note contents. We cannot do enough for the Rev. Dr. Wasson in return for his outspoken position on the liberal side."

Working Chautauqua

The Chautauquas were not overlooked. "We

have, however, been experimenting for the past four months in a number of the principal Chautauquas in the middle western States, through the medium of an organization that advocates the peaceful solution of all vexed problems of the day, by the application of sympathy, respect and co-operation. Its platform is that the reconstruction of society depends upon individual rectitude, rather than upon civic or commercial revolution, and that the regeneration of the individual is more important than legislation. The argument against sumptuary legislation fits in very well with this program, and has been brought in incidentally, without creating the antagonism that it would, if given special prominence. This organization has been engaged in booking speakers for the next year, both in Chautauqua meetings and in the churches, colleges, lyceums, etc. You will, of course, understand that the matter is of a confidential nature, and that the success of the movement would be destroyed by the exploitation of it" (61).

Headquarters Activities

The offices at 50 Union Square, New York, where all the Gambrinized stories and statistics were prepared for the press, were as busy a hive as one could wish.

"Our own individual mailing lists include the newspapers, public libraries, universities and colleges, and a picked list of about 50,000 persons who

are members of such organizations as the American Bar Association, American Medical Society and of various national bodies of economists, statisticians, social-welfare workers, and other leaders of thought throughout the country. . . . Our total lists for mailing literature, comprising the clergy, the legal profession, congressmen, senators, legislators (etc.), contain many hundred thousand names. We keep these sets of envelopes ready addressed in the case of our regular mailing list" (62). "We receive over 13,000 newspaper clippings a month, besides several hundred periodicals and special publications. Practically everything that is printed on any phase of the alcohol question is gone over analytically and abstracted for our information department. We are called upon to furnish material and arguments for college and high school debates." Mention is made of a completed list of 3,000 important newspapers and publications which would constitute a mailing list for their literature. "While results can not be directly traced, that the work has had its effect in educating the editors is often indicated by the rather terse comment received. In many instances, editorials have been based on items taken from the Press Letter, and, in the case of great metropolitan dailies, have now and then led to feature stories covering events of exceeding importance to the industry. . . . If the members will make an attempt to have at least one item from the Press Letter inserted in their local newspapers, either

directly or through their advertising agents, much could be accomplished" (63).

Eighteen translators were constantly at work preparing this material for the press. A corps of investigators and writers was kept on the road to collect grist for the newspapers (64). "Under the direction of Dr. Nathan Oppenheim we have had prepared a complete bibliography of the whole liquor question in all languages" (65). The vastness of all this preparation is a good gauge of the extent of the press' subservient use of brewery output. These literary hirelings would have been soon dismissed if there had been no satisfactory outlet for their product in the newspapers. But it did get into the press, as we all suspected. Fox could report that the brewers' publicity department had succeeded in the past few months in procuring the publication of 1,308 special articles in 614 weekly newspapers published in 32 different states (66).*

Note (to page 182)—The relations were mutual. On page 1085 of the Overman Report, it is stated that "the brewing interests in Canada and New Zealand rely upon us for most of the material upon which their campaigns are conducted." On pages 357-358 we read: "Brewers of the Dominion of Canada, who have studied our Ohio methods have recently decided to organize on identically the same lines, and have asked for the permanent services of one of our leading workers . . . they have raised a sum, to be expended . . . which in proportion far exceeds that which the brewers of this country are asked to contribute to the defense of our American industry."

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* See note on pages 209-210.

That the Canadian Gambrinuses have not been a whit behind their German-American colleagues appears from the Report of the Canadian Commission set for the investigation of their activities: They were found to be bribing officials to allow them to ship illegally into the United States (p. 46), to be cheating the government out of large amounts of taxes. In the case of one exporting company alone there was practically $990,000 of unvouchered expenditure (p. 9). They stole custom seals of both the United States and Canada and shipped beer in the disguise of other commodities (p. 75). They "made large contributions for political and propaganda purposes for which there were no proper vouchers. Such contributions were entered in the books of the company and charged to Malt Consumption, Hops Consumption, Material Consumption and Advertising Accounts. In making income tax returns for the years 1924 and 1925 the amounts referred to were entered as expenses and deducted from the gross income as if they were properly deductible. These false entries would have appeared to have been deliberate" (p. 95). "Many have been guilty of most flagrant and persistent violation of the laws and regulations which they are supposed to observe. They made false entries, destroyed records with the intent that they should not be available for inspection by government auditors" (pp. 108, 101).

Note (to page 208)—That the press is the crux of the whole difficulty and the chief agency in the hands of the drink interest is clear from a questionnaire sent out to the leaders of the Swedish-Finnish Temperance League and summarized in Uno Stadius' *Kampen om Forbudslag i Finland.* Every person questioned attributed to the press the leading role in the campaign of nullification in Finland. The plan is to weaken enforcement and then in the newspapers to exaggerate the extent of law violation. In this way the public is led to believe that law-enforcement is impossible and return to the alcohol bondage inevitable.

Attention has been called to a new form of propaganda. "Never in the course of public agitation of the prohibition question," says the American Issue, April 17, 1926, "have there been so many letters against the dry law in the people's columns of the newspapers. Incidentally very few of these are signed by the names of the writers." This is perhaps to be explained from British

experience. Some time since an English anti-prohibitionist document was discovered entitled "Notes for the Guidance of Correspondents," which showed that men were being hired to write anti-prohibition letters in the correspondence columns of the daily press. "The rate of payment (which is inclusive of postage and similar expenses) is half a guinea for each published letter; when the same letter is sent to and published in other papers 5/3 for each letter so published, 7/6 for letters signed with initials, and 5/3 for letters signed with a pseudonym, unless there is a special reason why a pseudonym should have been used in a particular case, when the full rate of 10/6 will be paid. "On occasions . . . it will be desirable for the correspondent to obtain someone else's signature to his letter, such as that of a well-known local man whose name would carry weight in connection with the particular matter under discussion" (Sewell and Barker, "The Drink Traffic and the Nation," p. 78).

Here is another illustration of the dependence of the press upon the alcohol capital. A letter from Mr. Thomas W. Gales, April 24, 1928, was written when the attempt was being made to repeal the North Dakota enforcement code. "The wets are organized, having seemingly money to burn, and are backed by the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment. The wets have muzzled the newspapers as the brewers are spending large sums of money advertising Malt Extract, etc. Editors tell me that they cannot afford to offend large advertisers."

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CHAPTER X

HOW IT SEEKS TO BREAK DOWN THE CONSTITUTION

The Eighteenth Amendment was generally accepted with the imperturbable good nature which characterizes the American people. Masses of buttons inscribed "No beer, no work," distributed and worn for a day or two by the loafers in the parks brought to the brewers the appropriate measure of amused comment. The rent-refusing strike on the part of "the working-men" did not materialize. The famous wet parade staged by a member of the New York World staff, which enrolled 202,670 marchers, some pledging themselves to come from the Pacific Coast and the far Northwest, shriveled to a counted 14,922 (80 per cent of foreign parentage according to observers) and this included a noise brigade of 922 bandsmen. A copy of da Vinci's "Last Supper" was followed by some five hundred men and women with the banner "We want wine with our meals." They were roundly hissed. The daisy was adopted as the flower of anti-prohibition to be worn "as a protest against witch-burning tendencies." That was rather hard on such prohibitionists as George Bernard Shaw and Professor August Forel!

Then the newspapers began to bark.

A Miscellany of Organizations

Fifty Union Square, the old headquarters of the United States Brewers' Association, got into action again. Mr. Hugh F. Fox, who before the Amendment guided the whole campaign of boycott and misrepresentation, started a publication with the name of The Periscope, in which was gathered month by month all the journalistic garbage cast at prohibition. Organizations were formed to convince the American people that they were downtrodden and to end the prohibition regime.* They shot up like mushrooms and fell away as quickly, at least most of them. The purpose was to make on the public the impression of a *levée en masse* in favor of beer. It was the ancient ruse of Israel Putnam, marching his handful of old Continentals with flares and shouts up and down the streets of a New England village to give to his British opponents the impression of a mighty host. What were not their names! —the Rational American League, the Sanity League,

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* Mr. Julian Codman attended a dinner of the Anti-Prohibition League in London. In the 1924 report of that organization (p. 152) he is heard lamenting his country's plight. "I find myself belonging to the one enslaved nation of the world. Among a company of free men and women it is difficult for a serf to speak."

Mr. Hoffman Nickerson, prominent in the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, has written a lengthy study of the Inquisition, the final chapter of which is devoted to American Prohibition!

the Good Fellows of America, the 1776 Society, the Molly Pitchers, the Veterans of Liberty, the National Liberal League, the Sunrise Club, the American People's League, the Anti-Blue Law League, the Light Wine and Beer League of America, the Friends of the Saloon (who denounced 2.75 beer and called for the real thing), the Moderation League, the Constitutional League of America, the Association for the Protection of Constitutional Rights, the Liberal League, the Referendum League of America, the National Association for the Protection of American Rights, the Constitutional Liberty League of Massachusetts, the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers, and so on.* Writers and artists, 374 of them, were lined up in their own corps, a heterogeneous collection of *ephemerides* with Mr. Eric Schuler as secretary. Mr. Schuler's salary of $6,600 yearly is provided by the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (1). Mr. Upton Sinclair, who would perhaps outweigh them all, out of his acquaintance with the tragic life histories of his friends, George Sterling and Jack London, testified for the defendants:

"I call it (alcohol) the greatest trap that life has set for the feet of genius and record my opinion that the prohibition movement is the greatest step in progress taken by America since the freeing of the slaves" (2).

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* See note on pages 257-258.

The False Front and Brewers' Subscriptions

There is a false front, too, which some of these organizations have put to the fore. This also deserves sharp handling. Yet as victims of the brewers' rub-a-dub-dub in the press, and because of the difficulty of getting over the truth to them, they may not, after all, be so much to blame. I am thinking of various prominent men on the roster of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment who lend the prestige of good citizenship and philanthropy to the organizations behind which the brewers are cowering. Article 3 of the Constitution of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (November 15, 1920) reads: "Brewers, distillers and those who have made their living from the liquor trade are ineligible to voting membership so that the Association may be free from unfair accusation of financial interest in the subject of its work" (3).

But this blackball of the beer-makers is purely platonic. The tips of brewers' ears can be easily discerned above the front rank of the respectable.

Vespasian's *Non olet* has again proved to be the device under which this association musters and marches, as do kindred organizations, in spite of the testimony of its secretary (Mr. Stayton), before the House Judiciary Committee, to refusing money from brewers and to returning such checks as they

sent him* (4). Thus, in October, 1922, a letter went out from the Wisconsin Maltsters' Club appealing for funds:

"Gentlemen: In view of the fact that the Wisconsin division of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment has done such wonderful work during the last primaries, having been positively

* Mr. Stayton, secretary of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, stated: "We have never contributed a cent of money to a political party or to any politician." But in one election nine Democratic committees in as many Indiana counties are mentioned as recipients of the largess of this organization. Contributions of $27,661 were made to the Democratic State Committee of Massachusetts in 1926. In Pennsylvania while Stayton testified that his organization had spent but $3,500 in a primary fight, the actual amount filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives was $19,959.98. The Association also worked through organizations with other names, as Mr. Stayton testified (Senate Hearings, p. 1247). These it subsidized heavily. In an appeal sent out by the Pennsylvania branch of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, this organization "for mutual improvement" says: "The expenses of the primary campaign have left our treasury bare" (Congressional Record, Sixty-ninth Congress, Second Session, Speech of Hon. Grant M. Hudson, December 11, 1926).

The attempt to elect Vare to the senatorship from Pennsylvania was a typical post-prohibition exhibition of brewery politics. Nine brewers are mentioned as contributors to the Vare funds in sums varying from $5,000 to $10,000. Seventy-five thousand letters were sent out to the Eagles and 70,000 to the Moose to bring these groups into line. The majorities in South Philadelphia wards would have done credit to the palmiest brewery days, Vare, 4,547; Pepper, 45; Pinchot, 5 and (in the fourth ward) Vare, 8,056; Pinchot, 68; Pepper, 675. One wonders what the respectable front of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment think of this campaign for Vare which their organization so zealously supported (Senate Hearings, 1926, pp. 1497 and 626).

instrumental in securing eight wet out of the ten congressional candidates, and all of which facts were again praised and confirmed by Mr. Dietrichs, of Chicago, at our meeting held yesterday, it was unanimously decided to give them further financial aid in order that the Association might be able to complete the work they have set out to do.

To this end we permitted ourselves to be assessed for half of the amount contributed at our previous meeting, namely, at the rate of five cents per 1,000 bushels of steeping capacity. In as far as the money is needed now, will you not be kind enough to forward immediately to the undersigned your check" (5).

Another letter, signed by the Gottfried Krueger Brewing Company of Newark, under the date of June 3, 1926, reads:

"Gentlemen: We are deeply interested in the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and have been asked to solicit donations from our many creditors who would be benefited if the present prohibition law were modified.

This money would be used for the continued support of the Association and we know of no way in which prohibition could be better combated. The Association is one of the strongest of its kind in the country and we earnestly believe that it should be heartily supported by those who would be benefited if the Volstead Act were repealed. If you are interested in the work of this Association kindly return

the enclosed card with your check to our office.

Trusting you may see how all would be benefited if the Association were supported" (6).

The Association in 1926 filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives a list of those contributing to its political campaign funds. Among these were the Pennsylvania Central Brewing Company, Loewer's Gambrinus Brewing Co., the Garden City Brewery, Piel Brothers, the Buffalo Brewing Company, A. A. Busch, Perot and Son, Anheuser-Busch, Fred Pabst, the Peter Doelger Brewing Company, the Superior Beverage Company, Julius Stroh, William Hamm, Flock's Brewing Company, John A. Trainer, L. F. Neweiler's Sons, the Erie Brewing Company, the Hensler Brewing Company, the Lion Brewery, the Schaefer Brewing Company, and John F. Trommer (7).

A 1928 list of contributors to the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, also filed in Washington, includes the following names (8):

Brewers Contributing to the A. A. P. A. in 1928

Jacob Ruppert	$8,833.34
Gottfried Krueger Brewing Co., Newark, N. J.	2,700.00
The Joseph Hensler Brewing Co., Newark, N. J.	1,500.00
California State Brewers' Association	1,500.00
F. & M. Schaefer Brewing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,450.00
Piel Bros. (Brewers), New York City	1,100.00
Fred Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis. (He gave $3,000, 1929)	1,000.00
Hugh Murray (Lion Brewery), New York City	1,000.00
George Ehret, Jr., New York City	1,000.00
W. Fred Anheuser, St. Louis, Mo.	1,000.00
John F. Trommer, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,000.00
Obermeyer and Liebman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,000.00

R. A. Huber, care of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., St. Louis (in 1927)	$1,000.00
Patterson Brewing and Malting Co., Newark, N. J.	750.00
Chr. Heinrich Brewing Co., Washington, D. C.	650.00
Daeufer-Liederman Brewing Co., Allentown, Pa.	600.00
Adolph Busch, St. Louis, Mo.	500.00
Eberhard Anheuser, St. Louis, Mo.	500.00
Peter Doelger Brewing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	500.00
L. F. Neweiler's Sons (Brewers), Allentown, Pa.	500.00
Hugh F. Fox (Sec. U. S. Brewers' Assn.) New York City	500.00
William Hamm, St. Paul, Minn.	400.00
William Peter Brewing Corp.	325.00
Reno Brewing Co.	300.00
Anheuser-Busch, Inc., St. Louis, Mo.	250.00
Francis Perot & Sons Malting Co., Philadelphia, Pa.	250.00
Union Brewing Co., Newark, N. J.	250.00
New York Malt Roasting Co., New York City	250.00
Philip Schneider Brewing Co., Trinidad, Colo.	250.00
Julius Stroh (Products), Detroit, Mich.	200.00
V. Loewer's Gambrinus Brewing Co., New York City	200.00
Froedlert Grain & Malting Co., Milwaukee, Wis.	200.00

Mr. Curran told the recent Senate Judiciary Committee that since January, 1930, no further subscriptions had been accepted from this source—a confession of their receipt up to that date. Efforts have been constantly made to disguise this relationship with the alcohol capital. The Canadian distiller, Walker, of Canadian Club whiskey fame, promises a subscription, but expresses fear lest it might prejudice the Association in its work. "It might be stated that the association is being backed financially by those connected with the industry." His correspondent, who appears to be the Secretary of Henry B. Joy, Packard manufacturer, explains how to get around this. "If you and your brother

will send your contributions in the form of a cashier's check or currency, or any way that is most convenient for you, I will do as I have done with other contributions, entering them as cash and keeping the names in my own personal file. Unless contributions exceed $500, it is not required to make a return of them under the Corrupt Practices Act" (9).

One entry in the Association correspondence reads: "I enclose three checks aggregating $4,000 which will almost look out for two Congressional Districts." $500.00 of this was from the brewers, Piel Brothers.

Of this last entry Mr. Stayton said: "I think Major Curran had already been getting regular monthly contributions, or periodic contributions, from the Piel Brothers, and this was another one." "Please note that this contribution is from a corporation," wrote Stayton against this entry. "Yet it was for political purposes," commented Senator Caraway. "Why did you want him to know he had violated the law?"

Stayton: "If I had been in charge I would not have received them."

Senator Caraway: "Why, you are the man who transmitted the checks . . . and called attention that it was a violation of the law."

Stayton: "Yes" (10).

The brewers furnish workers as well as funds. J. W. Kelly, a Massachusetts member of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, wrote

to headquarters protesting the danger of having this fact come to light of day. The political manager of the Constitutional Liberty League, the Massachusetts affiliation of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, is a certain Tom Maguire, president of the Boylston Bottling Company, the distributing end of the Haffenreffer Brewery.

"The management of said brewery," writes Kelly, "claims that his contribution to the C(onstitutional) L(iberty) L(eague) is the donating of Maguire's services. . . . Truly a fine condition of affairs, where the person who boasts of being the political adviser, also talks of his brewery. His method of campaigning has continued since the old days, 'old saloon methods,' inviting politicians and ward heelers to his brewery to fill up on good beer. And the drys know all this" (11).

Lawless As Ever

The Eighteenth Amendment was passed in model form and with every margin to spare. It was ratified by 46 out of the 48 States. But from the beginning, the brewery interest has been determined to smash the constitution at this point. Their first approach was legitimate. They and their allies entered the congressional districts to elect congressmen who should reverse Congress' action in 1917. Here they were beaten all along the line. Their present method of attack is in flat contradiction to the spirit of law and ordered liberty. As a first

step in the campaign "to make the Eighteenth Amendment forever inoperative" (12) they are seeking to repeal enforcement codes in the several States. In this way they hope to sabotage the enforcement of the law and to prove it unenforceable. Along with this has gone direct action. Numerous breweries are defiantly and tenaciously dynamiting the law. From their sullen and ill-smelling plants come wisps of steam. They are making near-beer inside to cover the manufacture of illegal product. Governor Pinchot, in an address to the Pennsylvania legislature, February 10, 1925, has pictured these nullificationists:

"They have developed systems of spies, watchers, pilot-cars, forerunners and even stockades which multiply the task of apprehending them. Of about 100 breweries operating in the State, 62 were caught in violation of the law during 1924. Thirty-two have been caught in one violation; ten in two; seven in three; four in four; one in six and one in seven. The State police have direct reason to believe that more than half of the 100 are actual violators at this time. Of the breweries caught by the State police in 1924, twelve were operating under Federal permit. One was caught producing strong beer after it had been seized and was actually in custody of the United States marshal.

"This open, continuous and notorious defiance of the law is an outrage upon the dignity of this Commonwealth."

Governor Pinchot is satisfied that in these operations the brewers were shielded by the Federal authorities. He gives the following illustration:

"There is a brewery in Aliquipa in the Pittsburgh district. This brewery, which had been in operation without a permit, had already been apprehended, pleaded guilty and been fined, applied to the Federal authorities for a permit in January, 1923. The report of the Federal agents was against it. In April, 1923, the brewery was seized under the direction of a Federal judge and placed under lock and key. In spite of this record, in June, 1923, it was given a permit by the Federal enforcement service. Less than two months later the Pennsylvania State police seized three carloads of its illegal beer. Hearings before Federal officials for revocation of the permit were set for September, postponed until October, postponed until January, postponed again till March, and the Federal permit was still unrevoked when the State, not the Federal authorities, convicted this brewery in a State court early this spring. Ten days ago this brewery was reported as still shipping beer. And I may add that within the last week two other breweries shipping strong beer have been caught by the State police." (Address at Springfield, Mass., 1924.)

Enter the "Billionaire" Crowd

That the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment is in intimate touch with the brewers,

came out in the Lobby Investigation of 1930. When asked by Senator Robinson if he knew Hugh F. Fox, of the United States Brewers' Association, Mr. Stayton answered: "I have corresponded with him, seen a great deal of him, gotten information from him" (13). But while this is true, it is also clear that at present other persons and other motives are taking the lead for the restoration of beer and the brewers. There has been a large scale mobilization of capitalists outside the alcohol interests, to break down the Eighteenth Amendment. In a letter to Mr. Noel B. Martin, Mr. Stayton says:

"On our board there are individuals who, either in the management of their own personal affairs or in the broad, general direction of corporations in which they are interested, direct the management of $40,000,000,000 and the employment and occupation of 3,000,000 employees. These figures were conservative when made, and since then the board has been enlarged" (14).

In the subpœnaed correspondence of the Association, a form letter addressed to "Mr. Multimillionaire" and asking for membership and subscriptions was discovered. This was to be sent to the millionaires registered in Boyd's List of Millionaires (15). When a subordinate proposed using a list of automobile owners as a basis for membership he was rebuked by Mr. Stayton. They did not wish to call to their colors "men who traveled in shirt sleeves." Attached to this correspondence was

a list of "prominent sportsmen and horse-owners, whose horses are entered in all the prominent races" (16). These are the men who hate the Eighteenth Amendment and who would pay heavily for its elimination. And they are getting together. On December 12, 1927, a meeting was called at Senator Wadsworth's home in Washington, with Senator Underwood present, together with railroad men, manufacturers, Senators and representatives of both parties. It was a three days' meeting behind closed doors and with no publicity (17).

A Transfer of Taxes

Why should these kings of Mammon be so solicitous for the beer-freedom of the working man? The reason is provided in a memorandum of Mr. Stayton. This outlines a letter to be sent to manufacturers and big business men, enclosing also a "bait list," together with a request to join the Association. One letter went to Mr. Percy Rockefeller, and among the "bait names" were those of Mr. E. S. Harkness and Gen. Atterbury.

The memorandum ran:

"Do you realize that Congress has power to at once legalize a glass of mild, wholesome beer? And that workingmen and others would willingly pay a tax of 3 cents per glass and that that amount (based on past consumption) would enable the Federal Government to get rid of the burdensome corporation taxes and income taxes and to take the

snoopers and spies out of offices and homes?" (18).

Mr. Stayton had prepared a handpicked list of 2,000 men paying income taxes on incomes of $100,000 or more each. In the draft of a letter to be sent, these points are made:

"1. Irénée du Pont (made the) statement that one of his companies would save $10,000,000 in corporation tax if we should have, say, the British tax on beer.

"2. In 1914 the brewers paid taxes on 66,000,000 barrels of beer. If we should have back the right to manufacture beer, if we should manufacture just as much as we did in 1914 and if we should tax it at the British rate, the income would be $1,320,000,000, or more than the net amount received from income and corporation taxes. . . . There would be . . . no snoopers in business offices examining books.

"3. If the taxes should be taken off corporations there would be a rise in stock values and all owners of stocks would profit accordingly" (19).

Senator Caraway to Mr. Stayton: "And he (du Pont) thought if you could get the eighteenth amendment repealed, that he could lift $10,000,000 tax off his corporation?"

Stayton: "That $10,000,000 of taxes would be lifted from that corporation; yes, sir."

Caraway: "That would be a strong consideration?"

Stayton: "I should think so; yes, sir; since he is an officer of the corporation" (20).

Mr. du Pont further stated before the House Committee on the Judiciary, April 23, 1930 (p. 1209):

"Had we pursued such a course (licensing and taxing intoxicating liquors at a figure no higher than that prevailing in Great Britain) there would have flowed to our governmental treasury during the past 11 years approximately . . . $1,600,000,000 per annum, a total for the 11 years of $17,654,000,000."

Such is the money prize at stake!

The same motive appears to be behind Mr. T. W. Phillips, Jr.'s run for governor in the Pennsylvania primaries of 1930. He writes to Mr. du Pont:

"As I look upon this matter, I realize that prohibition has indirectly cost me already probably several hundred thousand dollars; and, of course, if it continues indefinitely, the amount that I will be assessed . . . will amount into the 7-figure column" (21).

The New York World of January 26, 1930, made this statement:

"Representatives of brewers and distillers told the World correspondent to-day that their principals would be willing to pay $1,125,000,000 annually in federal taxes to return to pre-prohibition production."

The taxes the brewers are so ready to pay would be passed on to the consumers and their families. The poor man's throat is to pay the rich man's

taxes plus the brewer's profits, which in the old days were enormous. The recent settlement of the Ehret estate, for example, showed that this single brewer owned, besides a vast personal estate, fifty millions of New York City real estate, which made him one of the largest owners of New York realty (22).

The powder, motor, railroad, copper, and other magnates of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment contribute heavily to their organization, apparently in anticipation of tax reduction, not to say tax abolition. If this rosy prospect can be made clear to others, the income of the Association, for the election of wet Congressmen and repeal of enforcement codes, would be greatly increased. Mr. Stayton prepared a memorandum to bring this to the attention of the heavy income-tax payers in Arizona. "The Treasury Department figures show that there were nine individuals in Arizona who in 1925 had incomes of $90,000 and over. . . . Based on a modification of the Volstead Act and the adoption of the proposed beer . . . tax, each of these nine individuals would be relieved of the payment of an average of more than $20,000 a year tax." Then comes the meat of the nut. "Provided these facts can be brought to the attention of these nine taxpayers, through the proper source and in a serious manner, contributions (to the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment) of at least 10 per cent of the possible

annual saving (do) not seem to me to be unreasonable" (23).

But it must be made clear to the public that the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment is a purely altruistic body, with unsullied purposes and a New Testament contempt for *philarguria*. Mr. Curran drew up a letter to be used in writing to brewers who were innocent enough to send in contributions. It is dated January 1, 1930—after ten years of brewer contributions—and reads:

"In order that the most uninformed beyond our ranks may be convinced of this (the completely disinterested character of the association), it is desirable that not even the most infinitesimal portion of our funds should come from contributors possessing legitimate but directly proprietary interest in the outcome of the struggle" (24).

Certainly, if this high ideal of contributions were preserved, little could be accepted from the tax-shifters. Mr. Stayton is forearmed concerning this and would guard his friends against any imputation of self-interest. He instructs his assistants when writing "to a man concerning *the iniquities of the income tax* and the need of a beer tax, etc., that we should be sure to say in substance 'it is not practicable to discuss in a single letter all of the evils that have come from national prohibition. . . .' We are confining this letter to the financial cost of this evil measure.

"What I have in mind is that if we write a letter

that presents only the tax question somebody will get hold of that letter and say in substance that we have no higher idea than the saving of tax . . . therefore every letter ought to contain some reference to the fact that there are other arguments besides that of money" (25).

"It Can't Be Done"

The strategy of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and of the law-breaking breweries is to convince the public by ocular evidence that drink-selling is an inevitable phenomenon, like disease or winter or death. It simply cannot be eradicated.* In this they have the co-operation of the press. "The boys" in the newspaper offices are, quite commonly, so it is reported, directed to give prominence to news items which show the law at a disadvantage and to ban favorable matter to remote corners of the pages whenever it is not altogether discarded. Samuel Johnson, when "mechanical carriages which would go ten miles an hour" were prophesied, burst out with "Sir! it can't be done! Men couldn't breathe!" The offices of our metropolitan press house many similarly skeptical

* So a circular of a California distilling company asking for subscription to its stock and promising sixty per cent dividends, remarked: "The distilling business is perpetual, for people will drink as long as human folly and imprudence exist."

At a conference of brewers, mention was made of States which had adopted prohibition and abandoned it. "In coming back they voted the saloon in again as a necessary institution" (O. R., p. 1061).

Johnsons also croaking, when law enforcement is under discussion, "Sir! it can't be done!" And they have not Johnson's excuse, for it is being done whenever a fair field is given.

"The meanest and dirtiest propaganda in the world," so Mr. Horace Taft has characterized this systematic press campaign against the Eighteenth Amendment (26).

"The worst piece of misrepresentation ever perpetrated upon a community by its public press is being carried on by the daily papers of New York City," is the equally contemptuous appraisal of the press by the honored Dr. Charles E. Jefferson of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York (27).

New publications blackening this amendment and its supporters were started soon after its adoption. Mr. Mencken's "American Mercury" is, he tells us, "committed to the return of the American saloon"* (28). It seems to have a parallel purpose

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* The American saloon which Mencken wants "returned" was years ago under discussion by those who were responsible for it. The handwriting was on the wall and they were debating the evils to be eliminated in order to salvage the institution. Fox summarized the abuses complained of—selling in prohibited hours, gambling, selling to intoxicated men, rear rooms, dirtiness, invading residential districts, the social evil, selling to minors, keeping open all night, brewers financing ignorant foreigners as saloon keepers, brewery control of saloons, cabarets, Sunday selling, treating, sales to speakeasies, bucket-trade, signs, screens, too many saloons.

Other brewers referred to noise and profanity around saloons, excessive sales of beer in kettles, irresponsible men set up by the

also, namely, to render offensive and ridiculous those churches which have been prominent in the war on the saloon. "Plain Talk," another new review, follows Mencken's cue. Mr. Lewis' caricature "Elmer Gantry" is mentioned in Upton Sinclair's "Money Writes" as "jeering at the Protestant churches of America because they put the prohibition laws on the statute books" (29). "Liberty," established by the ultra-wet Chicago Tribune in the early post-brewery period, cries aloud for the return of the alcohol freedom of the past with the lusty lungs of the old adherents of "personal liberty." There is no evidence known to the writer that the alcohol capital is back of these enterprises, or that their promoters are anything but untainted idealists.

Propaganda Touches Bottom

But there is evidence that the press in general still walks in the old bad paths. Confidential Memorandum No. 151 of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment says:

"Recently we added to our staff two men who have in the past been national directors of presi-

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brewers, the saloon as rendezvous for criminals and prostitutes, unsanitary conditions, empty kegs on sidewalks, unsightly signs, window display of bottles, the dance-hall evil.

Brewer Cook stood for the *status quo* in spite of all these abuses. "The saloon is the most fundamental thing in the business. It is an American institution and part of our national life . . . there should be no publicity regarding saloon reform at present." (O. R., pp. 1067-1070).

dential campaigns for the two great political parties. These men have made politics their life work. . . . We issue one or more newspaper articles every day which are circulated to all of the leading newspapers of the country and in addition prepare special articles. . . . In addition to the publicity men employed in the Washington headquarters office many of our branches have their own publicity men who do similar work within the various States" (30).

These articles appear without the tags of the Association launching them, and are consequently pure propaganda. It was obviously the treacherous operations of the metropolitan press that led the President of the United States to go to New York, April 22, 1929, and at the annual luncheon of the Associated Press to rebuke it gravely for its frivolity and dishonesty. "I put the question to every individual conscience," said Mr. Hoover, "whether flippancy is a useful or even a legitimate device in such discussions. Its effect is as misleading and as distorting on the public conscience as deliberate misrepresentation."

"They Run Our Stuff"

For the better manipulation of the press the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment has a special publicity office in Washington, in the Press Building, "in order to be near the newspapers," as Mr. Stayton explained at the Lobby Hearings. This

is in charge of Mr. Emmett Dougherty, an old newspaper hand. When the President of the Association, Mr. Curran, was asked by Senator Walsh, of Montana, "Have you got a list of the newspapers that take your articles?" he returned: "No. We couldn't compile such a list. We can't get the clippings. Pretty nearly every paper takes them, except a lot of little dry papers in country hamlets. They won't touch them. The editor would have to leave town if he published them. . . . I could name over all the principal daily newspapers whose names I remember, and I will do it, in which I know they have run our stuff. There is the Baltimore Sun, Washington Post, Washington Star, Washington Times, Philadelphia Ledger, morning and evening, Philadelphia Inquirer, the Wilmington Every Evening, the New York Times, Herald Tribune, World. . . . The Evening Post, the Evening Sun. All of them, Senator! The Providence Journal. Even the Springfield Republican. The Boston Transcript" (Laughter) (31).

How the Wires Are Pulled

Various material read into the record of these hearings lets one behind the scenes where this propaganda to break down the constitution is going on. Mr. Joy, the Detroit manufacturer (of Packard cars) whom the brewers humiliated so unmercifully in the old days, telegraphs to Mr. Stayton, January 23, 1930:

"Get Hon. James M. Beck to make speech in Congress in defense of Constitution. He can do it better than any other and carry tremendous weight. Wickersham's address shows for first time they are forced into defensive position. Keep them there. Assume offensive and keep it.

Henry B. Joy."

Mr. Stayton replied:

"My Dear Harry: I had a talk with Mr. Beck yesterday and he is going to make the constitutional speech as per your suggestion."

Then after going to Congressman Beck's office and reading the advance copy of his speech, Mr. Stayton telegraphed to Mr. Julian Mason, editor of the New York Evening Post, and to Mr. Louis Wiley, business manager of the New York Times:

"February 6.

"I have just read advanced sheet Congressman Beck's speech to be delivered Friday. He points out that Whig Party died because it tried to perform its constitutional duty and enforce fugitive slave law founded on the Constitution but obnoxious to the people because it interfered with human freedom, and he warns the Republican Party to beware. If your policy would permit an editorial on this matter it would greatly aid our plans" (32).

The editorials appeared February 8.

Ex-Senator Wadsworth published in the North

American Review for March, 1930, an article on "The Death Toll of Enforcement," under his own signature. But he did not write it. Mr. Curran, when asked as to its authorship, replied: "Why, we wrote it. . . . It was written by—this is a shame —it was written by Mr. Samuel Morse, who is one of our organization" (33). The shame, we take it, was not in Morse's composition of the article or in Wadsworth's signing it, but in the exposure of the pair of co-workers.

The Outlook Panhandles

The Outlook "flopped to the wets" and lost dry subscribers in shoals. From a letter in the Association's correspondence one infers its need of financial assistance. Mr. Curran writes to Mr. Raskob:

"With this note I am taking the liberty of introducing to you Mr. Francis R. Bellamy, editor and publisher of the Outlook and Independent, who has talked with Mr. Sabin and with me as well as with Mr. Thomas W. Phillips, jr., of our board, about the progress of his magazine. I do not know about the finances of the affair nor am I in a position to judge as to that side of the subject, but I do know that this combination of two old and respected magazines is carrying material against prohibition which is scholarly, sound, and, in my opinion, extremely effective. The change in the nature and policy of the magazine has plunged it into a hot fight. I

think it will be helpful to that for which we are all fighting if this magazine may continue to wield the kind of weapon it has taken up since the merger."

When asked about this, Mr. Curran said:

"I remember Mr. Bellamy's visit to me, Senator. . . . What he wanted, as I remember it, was individual financial aid. He did not want our association to do anything about it, and our association would not, and he asked me for a note of introduction to Mr. Raskob, and it is that note you have just read"* (34)

Mr. Raskob is one of the chief backers of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.

The humor paper, Life, is also revealed as seeking financial underwriting from the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (35). Unsuccessful approaches were made to the Saturday Evening Post. Mr. Pierre du Pont writes to Mr. Stayton:

"Dear Bill: I shall be glad if you will make known to the officials of the Saturday Evening Post of my

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* Mr. Stayton's salary came not from the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, but from private supporters. This gives opportunity for righteous indignation toward any who may charge Mr. Stayton with working from other motives than pure patriotism. Mr. Irénée du Pont writes to Mr. Curran: "Am I to understand that it is the policy of the organization that individuals should pay Captain Stayton's salary indefinitely, so that he may truthfully say that he is not on the salary roll of the association?" (L. I., pp. 3939-3940.)

personal interest in the affairs of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, also the interest of my brothers Irenee and Lammot. I feel that the Saturday Evening Post is intimately related to both the General Motors Corporation and the du Pont company. . . . I hope that the officials of the Saturday Evening Post will join in a move toward better things with respect to the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages" (36).

Staging a Massacre

Material for this agitation in the press has had little basis in fact. The so-called "Black Duck Affair" was a godsend to these hired agitators. Mr. Crooker, of Boston, who staged this demonstration, received $1,000 a month from the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (37). Correspondence concerning this particular piece of propaganda runs thus:

"His activities in this matter have been so great that he had had no time whatever for other work for the last 10 days. . . . This investigation has to be pushed at high pressure. . . . We have had a request from our senior Senator, David I. Walsh, who asked Mr. Crooker personally over the telephone, when I was present, to dig up every available bit of information in connection with the *Black Duck* and other alleged violences in Providence, Newport, and New London . . . which might warrant the introducing of a bill in Congress call-

ing for a complete investigation of the entire Coast Guard" (38).

High Pressure Propaganda

Crooker got up the Faneuil Hall mass meeting. "Come and hear the facts about the *Black Duck* massacre." Similar demonstrations were planned at Lexington and Bunker Hill "to carry forward the present emotional impetus against prohibition" (39). Mr. Arthur Machen, of Baltimore, a leading member of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, used the phraseology appropriate for Maryland, "The despot's heel is on thy shore," and then added (in a letter to Mr. Stayton): "If the dry tyranny is not overthrown by ballots now, it is bound to be destroyed by bullets hereafter. The patriot must be up and stirring while peaceful means are still possible" (40).

These patriots are clearly ready to go to great lengths to relieve the multi-millionaire taxpayers.

It will be recalled how the Coast Guard recruiting notices were torn down on Boston Common by these freedom-screamers. Senator Robinson, of Indiana, summed up the common-sense appraisal of their manœuvres: "Now, apparently, Mr. Curran, there was no spontaneous sentiment against the Coast Guard in connection with the *Black Duck* matter. It was necessary for you, at high pressure, to attempt to make it appear that some great outrage had been committed" (41).

Confirmation of the artificial character of the agitation comes from the agitators themselves. Mr. Curran wrote to Mr. Grayson Murphy of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment expressing the hope that the courts might do some outrageous thing to provide material for patriotic protest on the part of the wets: "It would help us more to have a couple of hip gentlemen, or a couple of lady bootleggers of the widow-and-orphan variety sent up for five years, by a Texas judge sitting in New York."

And again: "Dear Grayson: . . . If the right kind of a case came along I can imagine a situation where we could do a good job and a conspicuous one in behalf of the constitutional rights of the American citizen. But it is extraordinarily hard to find the right kind of a case" (42).

In other words there is practically no injustice being done. It is all the invention of these propagandists and the press used by them. Senator Caraway's comment (summarized) applies to these millionaire schemers and their highly paid agents: "You call it (the government) a murderer and an invader of the people's right, depriving them of their constitutional rights, killing citizens in their homes and on the highways, depriving society of its power to establish temperance, etc. The Declaration of Independence certainly does not indict Great Britain of any more heinous offense than you indict your Government for, and we have always thought

that that indictment warranted and justified the war which resulted in our independence" (43).

What French Wine Interests Say

Has the foreign alcohol capital relations with this propaganda? It claims to have. *L'Exporteur Français* (19:6:24) specifies publications. It says:

"The French Wine Exportation Commission was able to note last year that its publicity campaign in the great newspapers edited in the English language in the United States (New York Herald, Chicago Tribune) had already given rise in the American press to numerous commentaries highly favorable to its cause and given a greater impulse to the anti-prohibitionist literature of both continents.

"Accordingly it was considered advisable not to make any change in the method but, in a greater number of periodicals, such as the Weekly Digest, the journals of the Navigation Companies, and in certain organs circulated by means of its official propaganda departments, it endeavored to develop the initial results. The United States is one of the countries where propaganda work has most need to be carried out with circumspection and skill."

This probable reference to the Funk and Wagnalls publication may be mere gasconade. Yet a 1925 Report of the Activities of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment is delighted to be able to point out that "in almost every issue the Literary Digest, formerly of strong dry tendencies,

warns of approaching disaster and now makes the prohibition calamity its leading subject for digestion. Thus the August 15 copy devotes its first three pages to the 'Rising Tide of Crime' and shatters the Prohibitionist's dream of a millennium. The next two and a half pages are given over to the effort 'to take prohibition out of politics.' Still another page tells us of 'wet England's empty prisons contrasted with dry America's bulging jails.' "

Long ago Mr. Fox, when calling on the brewers to make lists of papers which they thought fair or unfair, remarked:

"The fairness of a paper can be easily tested by . . . the emphasis which it gives to one view or the other, even in its news columns."

"We Did It in Canada"

In general the European drink interests are fighting prohibition world-over and their chosen weapon is press manipulation. The same article continues:

"In Canada the year 1923 will rank as one of the most important in the history of prohibition. The anti-prohibitionist campaign which has gradually gained ground, carried two provinces, Manitoba and Alberta, and two other provinces, Ontario and Saskatchewan, will very soon succumb to its attack. The Wine Export Commission is entitled to claim the preponderating share of this success as being the only French or foreign organization which took part in the fight with its entire forces. The Premier

(that is of France) and French Minister of Foreign Affairs thought fit on that occasion to express to the Commission satisfaction with the efforts it is making.

"Our action has taken the most varied forms—the preparation of leaflets and pamphlets, articles and controversies in the press, the contribution of funds at the decisive moment. Our activities were not confined to moistening those dry provinces in which it appears that action might prove useful. They were also devoted to the improvement of the system existing in those provinces where such action had already borne fruit. Thus we had occasion to state our point of view to the French government with regard to certain details of the working of the Quebec Liquor Commission, and again, quite recently, we organized a campaign in British Columbia for the adoption of certain measures favorable to the sale of our products" (p. 35).

False Programs and Real Ones

The purposes of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment are, according to the act of incorporation, "to educate its members as to the fundamental provisions, objects and purposes of the Constitution of the United States."

Also, "to favor and encourage obedience to the eighteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution and all laws passed that carry into effect the provisions of that amendment, . . . at the same time

to conduct an educational campaign intended to convince the electorate that . . . its repeal would be for the best interests of our country" (44).

Mr. Stayton was asked by Senator Caraway: "Have you got any literature showing where you advised the people to obey the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act?" Stayton replied: "I don't recall any that I have, sir" (45).

The Association has done everything in its power to bring the Amendment into disrepute and so far to nullify it. Its educational campaign has been a cloak to conceal wide political machination. Mr. Walter H. Buck, of Baltimore, a director of the Association, outlines a program: "The practical way to do this (repeal the Eighteenth Amendment) is to organize politically for the fight this fall in such selected districts where we should be able to put in a wet in place of a dry Member of Congress. *Ultimately we should be able to cut off all appropriations to the Prohibition Unit of the Federal Government, and sooner or later by such means we will be in a position to get rid of the eighteenth amendment,* and I believe that the way indicated is the only way"* (46).

*The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment seems complacent toward law violation and to be ready to see it systematized, if we can trust their official publication. In a "Criticism of National Prohibition" (p. 67), they describe an "experiment" made by the District Attorney at Chattanooga. "The brewers were given permission to make and supply beer to the saloons provided they gave the authorities a Ford run-about and $125 a month for

It is worth noting that while these people in their Herostratean mania would destroy the great bulwark against alcoholism, which our nation is raising, they have nothing in mind wherewith to replace it. "Have you proposed any State system?" asked Senator Walsh of Montana (that is, as a substitute for the Eighteenth Amendment).

Mr. Curran: "No, we have not."

Senator Walsh: "You find, do you not, quite a divergence of opinion with respect to what is the really best system?"

Mr. Curran: "Yes. . . . All our members differ about that, all our directors."

Senator Walsh: "You would get into trouble at once if you proposed any such substitute?"

Mr. Curran: "We would get into hot water overnight" (47).

Lobbyists in Legislatures

The Lobby Hearings brought to light much covering the Association's political activities. In this field the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment has proved a worthy successor to the United

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expenses. The saloon-keepers were told they might sell beer, but must report bootleggers and permit search of their premises at any time without process of law. If they sold spirits the place would be locked up. Illicit liquor was largely driven out of the city. The general moral situation was greatly improved."

This flagrant and formal defiance of law was naturally stopped by the Anti-Saloon League to the grief of the Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment.

States Brewers' Association. Mr. Stayton writes of a lobbyist, Seelman, paid $2,000 a month to look after the Wisconsin legislature:

"He handled the political situation very adroitly. . . . I think he controlled the legislature for every year since he took charge for us out there. He had repeated resolutions passed by the legislature asking for modification of the Volstead Act. He looked out for the referendum there and won it by 2 to 1, and I think his organization is almost wholly responsible for the defeat of Lenroot, the dry, and the election of Senator Blaine, a wet." Seelman is also mentioned as supporting a wet candidate for a Wisconsin judgeship "in the event that some question of ours were to come before the court" (48).

Walter Hooke, an experienced lobbyist at Albany, was hired to attend to the Illinois legislature in the same fashion and was given super-generous expense account for entertaining.

"Mr. Hooke, our representative in Illinois, is making surprising progress in the effort to secure the eight votes we need in the Illinois Senate to get the bill through, which provides for a referendum on the repeal of the Illinois State prohibition act" (49).

Mr. Carter Field, a Washington press gallery man, has been sent about the country at a salary of $625 a month to find out about the political records and prospects of politicians (50).

Over a Million for Repeal in Massachusetts?

"Our chief plan at present," writes Mr. Curran to Mr. Percy Straus, "in impressing our dry Congress with the fact that the country is mostly wet, is the holding of state-wide referendums such as we last year carried on successfully in Wisconsin, and before then in Montana, Nevada, and New York. This year Massachusetts will come first, with other States afterward as fast as we can reach them. FOR THIS THERE WILL BE REQUIRED OVER A MILLION DOLLARS TO BE USED THIS YEAR, of which a little over $200,000 has already been subscribed by a few of our directors" (Messrs. du Ponts, Harkness, James, Raskob and others) (51).

One notices in this subpœnaed correspondence various items of Massachusetts expenditure. Thus $500 for "the (Joseph) Walker luncheon." This to line up the club-men; to Gateley, president of the Central Labor Union, Springfield, Mass, $710 for getting out the vote in the Granfield campaign. Three thousand dollars were sent by the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment for this congressional fight. Curran sent $1,500 to nominate a wet in a Massachusetts primary (52).

A letter from Senator Walsh of Massachusetts to Mr. Curran, found in the Association's correspondence, asks the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment for the expenses of F. G. R.

Gordon, a political worker in his campaign "in the interest of the cause we are all interested in. . . . It would be of tremendous assistance in my campaign." The correspondence of the Association gives glimpses of Mr. Julian Codman of the Massachusetts *noblesse,* salaried at $12,000 and guiding the paid workers as they get out the vote—Higgins, Curto, Johnnie the Wop,—Irish, Negroes, Italians —to influence the appropriate colonies of "new Americans" (53).

In spite of all this, Mr. Stayton, Secretary of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, could still tell the Senate Investigating Committee (p. 4135): "I don't recall any contributions made (by the Association) to a campaign fund." On pages 4174-4176 of the Lobby Investigation Report is a statement of the expenditures of the Association in the last three months of 1926 in the State of Massachusetts. The Association had sent into Massachusetts at least $74,000 to help elect Senator David I. Walsh. Its political roustabouts seem to have been as lavishly paid as its executives, secretaries and lobbyists. We append a few samples:

October 30, 1926:

John J. Gilbride, getting out vote in Lowell	$1,480.00
Peter F. Sullivan, getting out vote in Worcester	1,000.00
John M. Thayer, getting out vote in Worcester	1,000.00
H. J. McLaughlin, getting out vote in Chelsea	500.00
William F. Byrne, getting out vote in Milford	50.00
John J. Murphy, getting out vote in Somerville	1,000.00
Leo McCarran, getting out vote in Taunton	300.00

Edward W. Quinn, getting out vote in Cambridge....	$571.37
Thomas C. Stutch, getting out vote in Boston.....	500.00
John J. Mulrooney, getting out vote in Boston.....	400.00
Matthew J. O'Brien, getting out vote in Boston.....	600.00
Joseph Ryan, getting out vote in Boston.....	300.00
Thomas C. Sullivan, getting out vote in Boston.....	700.00
Edward J. O'Connor, getting out vote in Boston.....	500.00
Harold S. Rutledge, getting out vote in Boston.....	1,250.00
William J. Sullivan, getting out vote in Boston.....	1,000.00
James T. Cassidy, getting out vote in Boston.....	900.00
Michael J. Welch, getting out vote in Boston.....	250.00
Edward Masters, getting out vote in Boston.....	200.00
Harry J. Goldberg, getting out vote in Boston.....	850.00
George Cole, getting out vote in Boston.....	100.00
William T. Maginnis, getting out vote in Boston....	200.00
William L. White, getting out vote in Boston.....	300.00
James Scanlan, getting out vote in Boston.....	100.00
Norman A. Howard, getting out vote in Boston.....	450.00
Jack Freedman, getting out vote in Boston.....	800.00
Frederick T. Doyle, getting out vote in Boston.....	300.00
Thomas A. Muldoon, getting out vote in Boston.....	600.00
Thomas F. Donovan, getting out vote in Boston.....	700.00
John F. Lynch, getting out vote in Boston.....	500.00
John J. Martin, getting out vote in Boston.....	500.00

Wet Political Intrigues

Wet politics take precedence of all things else with these people. "You wouldn't support a dry (candidate) no matter if he was the better man?" asked Senator Caraway of Mr. Curran.

"No. No!" returned Curran with vehemence.

Caraway: "In other words, then, I get you that the only question that is of prime importance is whether he is opposed to the eighteenth amendment?"

Curran: "Yes, sir" (54).

A wet *bloc* in Congress with sixty members is spoken of by Stayton:

"That group is altogether ready to have us do anything we want to do" (55). Others outside Congress hasten to do the bidding of the Association. We read, for example, of a telegram sent by Curran to President Butler, of Columbia University, asking him to bring pressure on a New York legislator to vote against the Jenks (enforcement) bill (56). All this political work is done quietly. Mr. W. P. Smith of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment writes, after conference with $12,000-a-year Codman and Innes, a prominent Boston Republican politician, that the campaign should be carried on "in a strictly non-partisan manner with no Democratic or Republican leaders openly associated with it, at least for the present. Both agreed outspokenly to this, and Innes reiterated his willingness to assist, with any advice we needed, but to remain in the background entirely" (57).

And again in a letter to Curran, Mr. Kennedy, of the Moderation League, says of Mr. W. C. Martin, Democratic candidate for Congress from Ohio: "If he should take an attitude agreeable to our views it might defeat him, whereas if he preserves silence he has good prospects of success. I give you my personal assurance that Mr. Martin is 100 per cent with us. . . . My suggestion is that you do not press him for any public statement, also if you

could aid him in a financial way you can be assured that his response in Congress will be agreeable, if his vote will be of value" (58).

This political work is taking unsuspected ramifications. One reads of Stayton conferring with Irénée du Pont regarding the Superintendency of Schools for Wilmington, Delaware. "It occurs to me that our association should endeavor to help select a new appointee . . . thereby prevent the teaching of dry propaganda" (59). The churches, too, are to be disciplined for their part in destroying the saloon. "The question was raised whether or not we should proceed in California with a campaign against the churches whose property is not taxed, on the ground that such property is used for purposes other than religious. Mr. Stayton said that nothing should be done in that matter *until we have been able to lay down a definite rule of policy concerning the whole question of church taxation*" (60).

Waiting for a Wet Supreme Court

The political activities of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment have not been especially successful up to the present in spite of the intense press propaganda which has accompanied them. The hopes of the Association are therefore turning to the Supreme Court, though not at all to the court as now constituted. In fact they are doing all in their power to dissuade their following from bring-

ing cases before the present court. Mr. du Pont sent out 25,000 copies of a pamphlet by Mr. Selden Bacon which outlines certain possible methods of modification of the Eighteenth Amendment. Stayton regretted this.

"The next man who has some little criminal bootlegger case before the Supreme Court will include this point, and give the court, as now constituted, an opportunity to soak us, and therefore we ought . . . to do two things, namely:

"1. Have this point considered by the bar and bar associations throughout the country, for the conclusions reached by the members of the bar would have an influence with the Supreme Court; and,

"2. Be prepared to intervene whenever anybody forces the point up before the Supreme Court of the United States."

And again, Captain Stayton writes: "I am in complete accord with your belief that our relief will, in all probability, come from the Supreme Court . . . If we do not give the present court an opportunity to hand down an opinion, prepared under dry dictation, we will, I think, be better off 1, 2, or 5 years from now when we come to present the matter to a court with a changed personnel" (61).

So they are holding back their too eager constitutional lawyers until, to quote Stayton once more, "time and nature (have) made changes" enabling us "to go before a tribunal which has not committed (itself)."

"Controlled Sale": Then Beer in a Flood

They are going to try to prove that Rhode Island and Connecticut, the two States which did not ratify the amendment, have been deprived of constitutional rights (62). They have other plans equally futile. Mr. Stayton writes to Graham F. Hunt:

"An amendment to the Constitution is ordinarily binding on the citizens of the United States and of the several States, but it is not binding on the government of the United States unless so specifically stated in the amendment. Therefore, the eighteenth amendment is not binding on the State governments and if Nevada desired to manufacture and sell beer, she might do so, and so might the United States Government" (63).

The right kind of a court might, in their opinion, hand down such a decision when the wet hullabaloo had "sunk in" sufficiently. Curran wrote Senator Wadsworth, "The growing objection by American people to our Federal prohibition laws will probably reach a greater degree of general disapproval later on, thus providing a better background for court action." So would they stampede the Supreme Court (64).

Mr. du Pont proposes an amendment to the Eighteenth Amendment which will allow "sale of liquor in unbroken packages," "retaining prohibition against 'by the glass' sales." If this went through "the cry of even broader State control

might induce the Supreme Court to see the eighteenth amendment in another light." Then comes a confession which lights up the whole purpose of these rich tax-shifters. Beer sold in packages would certainly have no considerable sale. But, writes Mr. du Pont: "If we should find the public more receptive to complete State control than we have at first hoped, it will be easy to strike out the words 'provided that all such liquors (sold) shall be in packages not to be opened or consumed on the premises where sold'" (65).

That would mean Al Smith's ideal—"foot on brass rail and blowing off the froth," all to lighten the corporation taxes of the du Ponts, and similar great aggregations of capital.

Here we have a pretty conspiracy. The total paying membership of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment is less than 10,000. Senator Robinson summed up the situation incisively when he said to Mr. Stayton: "60 per cent of all your (Association's) funds come from the pocketbooks of seven men, who are evidently determined to destroy the eighteenth amendment" (66).

The three du Pont brothers hold Delaware in the hollow of their hands. Can they control the nation as a whole in this matter? The question could never be asked if the press played fair.

These men are fighting the brewers' battle and the brewers know it. Hence their perfect confidence that they are "coming back" before long. The

honest public should understand one thing. If it loses the national fight it will have to put up just as hard a fight to defend itself in the States. If the brewer wins in the State he will have to be opposed in the cities. If he gets control in the cities he will raid the villages. The Rupperts were, in the ante-prohibition days, experimenting at great expense on a vacuum cooler which should facilitate shipment of beer into the most remote places and the Brewers' Journal could only think of better roads as "helping to bring beer out into the country."

Roosevelt and the Wet Press

Every restriction would be flouted and the wet press, if it paid the brewers to pull the strings, would protest the enforcement of a Sunday closing law with all the volume of clatter which it now expends on the Eighteenth Amendment. Mr. Roosevelt, when police commissioner of New York City, defied that power which was, as he says, "a terror to all parties" and made the saloons observe the Sunday law. His picture of what followed would well describe the present-day agitation in New York.

"Almost every man laughed at the idea of enforcing the Sunday excise law and asserted without fear of contradiction that the feat was impossible. . . . In New York City . . . those newspaper editors who believed that reputable men are in the minority attacked us with a fury that became venomous as week by week it grew plainer that we

were winning. At the outset all well-informed people believed that we would fail. . . . But, as is often the case with the baser type of politicians and of political newspapers, they had underestimated the strength of the forces which were ready to war for honesty and decency. There was no form of slander, no species of mendacity to which they did not resort. For weeks they eagerly repeated the tale that we had failed in our efforts and that the saloons were as wide open as ever, heedless of the fact that at the same time they were continually dwelling on the enormous losses caused by our shutting the same saloons" (67).

So there it is! There can be no compromise with the brewers. No more favorable ground for opposing this alien industry and its product can be found than that which national prohibition affords.

We are called to settle the thing now and not to hand it down, as a political left-over, to the next generation.

Note (to page 214)—These organizations were rather amusing than alarming; but one of them, that which physicians have sponsored, is indeed disgraceful. That in this day, and in view of the convergently hostile opinion of modern medicine to alcohol, men in the medical field could be found to join the army of misrepresentation, is indeed a blot on the profession. In Germany, too, the alcohol tribe is mobilizing and one of their groups, the so-called *Deutscher Abwehrbund,* has been formed, not to fight prohibition, be it remembered, but to oppose the education of the public regarding alcohol. When a German research institute for the study of psychiatrical problems was founded, this brewer-backed organization demanded of the King of Bavaria that it "should be neutral on the alcohol question." The blow was aimed at Professor Kraepelin, who remarked at the time: "The wild rage with which the alcohol industry persecutes me, as others, shows clearly the immense power which it ascribes to scientific investigation. That which gives our present-day abstinent movement the inestimable advantage over preceding ones is the almost infinite number of scientifically proved facts upon which it supports itself." Kraepelin published later important statistics showing the relation between reduction in consumption of alcohol during the restrictions of wartime and the temporary decline in insanity. The daily press could not publish these facts because of the "shortage of paper." Kraepelin noted sarcastically that the shortage, however, did not affect the output of alcohol propaganda in their columns. "It is a hard fight," said this scientist, "which we opponents of alcohol must carry on with no other motive than sympathy with our alcohol-enthralled people. Those who attempt to enlighten them become quickly convinced that the daily press have not the slightest notion of taking in matter which throws light on the alcohol problem, however accurate it be; while for the contributions of the alcohol trades they show themselves only too accommodating." And he goes on to speak of the "conscienceless and systematic manufacture of alcohol-friendly opinion by the hired writers, some even being physicians. I have exposed the shameless operations of this group."

The Bavarian consumption of beer was reduced by legislation from 232 liters per capita before the war to 138.8 liters in 1918 and was also weakened in alcohol content. There was a cor-

responding decline in the sale of spirits. The result was a decrease in cases of acute alcohol poisoning and delirium tremens in hospitals from 2,598 in 1910-13 to 476 in 1915-18. Admission to insane asylums for alcoholic psychosis fell from 5,515 to 1,322 in the same periods. (*Int. Monatschrift Zur Erforschung des Alkoholismus, 1923,* pp. 2-20.)

In England, in 1924, it was alleged that the proprietors of the famous medical journal, The Practitioner, had refused for the second time an offer of more than £100,000 for their proprietary rights. The Daily Mail (11: 2: 24) said: "In some quarters it is believed that the ultimate result concerning prohibition rests with the medical profession and anti-prohibitionists have been endeavoring to obtain control of a medical paper for propaganda purposes among the profession." (*The Drink Traffic and the Nation,* p. 29.) On page 73 of the same book it is stated that Dr. E. H. Starling's The Action of Alcohol on Man was originally commissioned by the Anti-Prohibition League. It was in this volume that first appeared a study by Professor Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins and of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, entitled, "Alcohol and Mortality."

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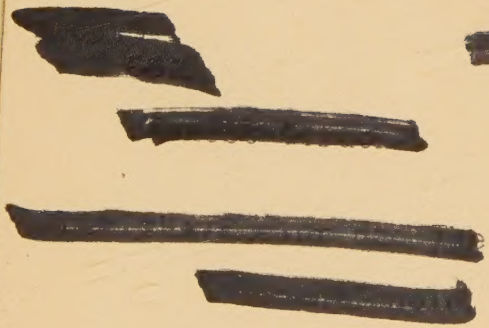
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